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# *The Journal of Southern History*

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# Stephen Russell Mallory, Southern Naval Statesman

BY PHILIP MELVIN

In the study of naval affairs during the Civil War period so much attention has been given to operations and to spectacular leaders on both sides that there is danger of overlooking the work being done behind the scenes by men whose experience, plans, and predilections frequently determined the success or failure of the more obvious activities. That there was a secretary of the navy in both the Federal and the Confederate cabinet seems to have been taken for granted; but until recently little had been written about the work of Gideon Welles in Lincoln's cabinet, while Stephen Russell Mallory, who served in the same capacity under Jefferson Davis, is still almost an unknown figure. Yet such evidence as is available indicates that as chairman of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs from 1855 to 1861 Mallory was an important force in the naval administration program of the United States immediately preceding the War, and that his contribution to the naval achievements of the Confederacy certainly deserves more attention than the scant, and sometimes contradictory, accounts which it has received.

Mallory was born around 1813 on the island of Trinidad, British West Indies, the son of a Connecticut Yankee father and an Irish mother. After a period of restless wanderings, the Mallorys moved around 1820 to the little island of Key West, Florida. Mrs. Mallory, soon left a widow with meager resources, conducted a boarding house for seamen, over which she continued to preside even after her son be-

came a United States senator.<sup>1</sup> In spite of her slender finances, Stephen was given a fair but brief education at a Moravian school in Nazareth, Pennsylvania, although the lad was a member of the Roman Catholic faith. For a short period young Mallory served as an editorial writer on a local paper<sup>2</sup> and as Key West correspondent for the *New York Herald*. In 1832 he was appointed inspector of customs at his home town, and in that same year he held his first elective office with the post of marshal. A naval volunteer in the Seminole War, he saw active service in two campaigns. Meanwhile, the enterprising young newspaperman read law in the office of Judge William Marvin, then of the United States District Court. Rising rapidly as a marine lawyer, Mallory was elected judge for Monroe County. From 1845 to 1849 he was collector of customs at Key West.

Mallory first came on the major political scene in 1850, when he was selected as an alternate Florida delegate to the famous Nashville Convention. He declined to serve, however, on the ground that he "was compelled by other engagements."<sup>3</sup> Although he seems to have stood for the convention's conservative "official" aims to check northern aggrandizement as well as preserve the Union, he was not optimistic concerning its possible accomplishments, and in his letter declining to participate he said:

... I must frankly tell you I do not look, hopefully, to the efficacy of the Convention. If, however, its action shall harmonize to any considerable extent the discordant opinions at the South, if it shall induce union of sentiment upon one or more prominent measures,—the admission of California with her present boundaries—our rights in the Territories—or the recovery of fugitive slaves—if it shall induce the Southern States as a body, to define the bounds of their political forbearance upon these questions—it will have accomplished a work of vital importance.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tallahassee *Sentinel*, May 11, 1852. The biographical facts in this paragraph are taken principally from: John Thomas Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy* . . . (New York, 1887); Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1937), XIII, 225; and Occie Clubbs, "Stephen Russell Mallory the Elder" (M. A. thesis, University of Florida, 1936).

<sup>2</sup> Mallory served as editorial writer on the Key West *Inquirer* during its short existence from 1834 to 1836. Clubbs, "Stephen Russell Mallory the Elder," 48-49.

<sup>3</sup> Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy*, 30 n.

<sup>4</sup> Mallory to B. M. Pearson, June 8, 1850, in Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, February 8, 1851.

This meant, of course, that Mallory seemed to endorse some of the principal provisions of the Compromise of 1850, and thus that he could not have been in sympathy with the action taken by the adjourned session of the convention in November, 1850, condemning the compromise measures. What effect his absence from Nashville had upon the next turn in his political fortune, however, cannot be determined with certainty. As sentiment, both North and South, rallied to the support of the Compromise, those who had advocated extreme steps found themselves in disfavor; and among this group was Florida's senior senator, David L. Yulee, whose term expired in 1851. Although Yulee, who had been a Calhoun protege and who was outspoken in his advocacy of secession, apparently had no opponent in his candidacy for re-election, the following succinct news item in the *Tallahassee Sentinel* of Tuesday, January 21, 1851, tells the story of his defeat:

On Wednesday last, Stephen R. Mallory of Key West, was elected to the United States Senate, to succeed Mr. Yulee. On the two first trials, the vote stood—Yulee 29, Blank 29; on the 3d—Yulee 28, Blank 30; on the 4th—Yulee 23, Blank 4, Mallory 31. Mr. Mallory is represented to us by his friends, as a man of moderate and conservative opinions.

In commenting on the honor which had come to its former Key West correspondent, the *New York Herald* of January 30, 1851, said: "His election, which was entirely unexpected, will be gratifying to the friends of the Union, not only in Florida, but in all parts of the country. The ultra course of Mr. Yulee, in opposing all measures of peace and compromise between the North and South rendered his defeat desirable."<sup>5</sup> More important to Mallory, however, was the comment of Henry Clay, who met the senator-elect in Havana shortly after the election and declared "that Florida had been fortunate in her change of Senators, in securing one who would stand by the Union of the States" and who had revealed himself as "a Democrat and a friend of the Union, upon the basis of the Compromise."<sup>6</sup> The significance of this approval became apparent when Yulee, refusing to accept his defeat, filed notice of his intent to contest the election and employed Edwin M. Stanton

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in *Tallahassee Sentinel*, February 11, 1851.

<sup>6</sup> *Tallahassee Sentinel*, April 8, 1851.

of Ohio to present his case to the Senate.<sup>7</sup> When the regular session of the Thirty-second Congress convened on December 1, 1851, Clay insisted upon the acceptance of Mallory's credentials in spite of Yulee's notice. As a result, the oath of office was immediately administered to him, and he had already received his committee assignments long before Yulee's claim to the seat was officially denied by the Senate.<sup>8</sup>

The new Florida senator was placed on the powerful Committee on Naval Affairs, and continued to serve there throughout his entire senatorial career, becoming its chairman in 1855 and holding that position until his withdrawal from the Senate upon the secession of his state in 1861.<sup>9</sup> He apparently set to work at once to study the problems falling under the jurisdiction of that committee, and within two months from the beginning of his service he consumed parts of two consecutive days with an extended speech on the restoration of corporal punishment in the navy. The question arose from the fact that the flogging of sailors in the merchant marine and the navy had been abolished in 1850 as a result of the agitation of humanitarian groups. Leaders in both services were now urging its restoration, and Mallory, probably with the advice of naval officers and representatives of the shipping interests, placed himself on record as an advocate of the repeal of the 1850 act. He argued that before the abolition of flogging the navy had been of first rank in efficiency and organization, but that within the short time since the removal of this essential implement for enforcing discipline great disorder had developed in both services. Such disorder, he said, "never has existed, it never did exist, until under the guidance of a false phil-

<sup>7</sup> Edwin M. Stanton, *Florida Contested Election* . . . (Washington, 1852); David L. Yulee, *Election of Senator of the United States by the General Assembly of Florida, for the Term Commencing 5th March, 1851* (Washington, 1851); Stephen R. Mallory, *Reply of Mr. Mallory of Florida to the Supplemental Arguments of Mr. Yulee, Claiming His Seat in the Senate of the United States* (1851[?]). Yulee was later elected for the term beginning in 1855, however, and was Mallory's colleague during the troublous times of 1860-1861.

<sup>8</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., 2-4 (December 3, 1851). The Tallahassee *Sentinel*, February 3, 1852, comments: "Mr. Mallory should and would never have been admitted to a seat, had it not been for the officiousness of Mr. Clay, who came out of a sick bed, to secure that boon for him."

<sup>9</sup> Mallory was also a member of the Committees on Engrossed Bills, Printing, Public Lands, and Claims. He was chairman of the Committee on Printing from 1853 to 1855, and served on the Committee on Claims from 1857 to 1861.



anthropy—I will not call it by a worse name, because I believe it was conceived in a spirit of philanthropy—an act was passed abolishing this usage.”<sup>10</sup>

There are indications that Mallory had taken this position because of a desire to be politically obliging and that he had permitted himself to accept the official view of the naval authorities without giving adequate consideration to the other side of the argument. Whatever the cause may have been, however, he soon found that he was on the unpopular side of the question and that this speech brought down upon him a flood of criticism. One newspaper gave him the sobriquet of “Cat-O-Nine-Tails Mallory,” and the Tallahassee *Sentinel*, after stating that “our *instincts* are all against the Senator’s course in this particular,” definitely abandoned its former non-committal attitude toward him and declared that he should never have been admitted to a seat in the Senate.<sup>11</sup>

For the next three years he seems to have confined his attention to routine matters, but shortly after assuming the chairmanship of the Committee on Naval Affairs in 1855 he again brought upon himself the wrath of outraged interests by sponsoring a bill to promote naval efficiency. This measure provided for the presidential appointment of a board of fifteen naval officers to “make a careful examination” of the naval personnel and to weed out those officers “incapable of performing promptly and efficiently all their duty both ashore and afloat.”<sup>12</sup> When the board, after investigation, recommended that one hundred and fifty-two naval officers be placed on the retired list and that forty-nine others be dropped from the service, those officers who were affected were outspoken in their condemnation both of the board and of the sponsor of the bill by which it had been created. The controversy was soon centered around the case of Matthew Fontaine Maury, the

<sup>10</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 109 (January 14-15, 1852). The speech was also printed for distribution in circular form with the title, *Speech of the Hon. Stephen R. Mallory of Florida, in the Senate of the United States, January 14 and 15, on the Restoration of Corporal Punishment in the Navy* (Washington, 1852).

<sup>11</sup> Tallahassee *Sentinel*, February 3, 1852.

<sup>12</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., 937 (February 26, 1855), 1038 (March 1, 1855).

famous "Pathfinder of the Seas," who was among those recommended for retirement. Maury branded the board as a "monstrous inquisition" and asserted that its members were jealous of his international reputation and had taken advantage of his physical lameness to cast a slur on his efficiency as an officer. His case was taken up by the newspapers, while the legislature of Virginia presented to Congress a vigorous protest against the board's action concerning him and other "dismissed Virginians . . . who have, by their achievements in war and peace, in arms and in science, not only commanded the thanks and the compliments of their country, but had extorted, and, whilst this board was in session, were extorting the homage and admiration of all the great commercial and naval Powers of the world."<sup>13</sup>

The presenting of this protest to the Senate, in March, 1856, led to the launching of a bitter attack on the board by Sam Houston, now a senator from Texas. Houston recalled that as a representative from Tennessee in 1825 he had obtained a midshipman's appointment for Maury; and after expressing his pride in Maury's achievements he charged that political considerations together with the personal prejudices of its members had prevented the board from reaching its decisions in an impartial, fair, and just manner.<sup>14</sup> In an earlier discussion of the case Mallory had stated that "if the action of the board could be sustained at all . . . it must be sustained in the case of Lieutenant Maury," giving as the reasons Maury's physical disability and his repeated shunning of sea service;<sup>15</sup> and his brief reply to Houston at this time indicated that his opinion had not been changed.

Although the furor continued, both in the press and in Congress, it did not prevent Mallory from being re-elected by the Florida legislature in 1857, and early in the next Congress he apparently yielded to political expedience by proposing a revision of the act by which the powers and duty of the board had been defined. His proposal, which was readily adopted, provided that any officer affected by the action of the

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 242 (March 18, 1856).

<sup>14</sup> For two long speeches by Houston on the subject, see *ibid.*, 242-52 (March 18, 1856) and 416-28 (April 23-24, 1856).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 275 (January 21, 1856).

retiring board could, by written request, obtain an investigation of his fitness before a regular court of inquiry. The findings of that court, in turn, would be submitted to the President, who would have the final authority to dispose of the case.<sup>16</sup> Maury was quickly vindicated under this new plan, and was restored to active service with the rank of commander, dated retroactively to the time of his retirement by the board.

In the meantime, Mallory had also sought to appease the critics of the board's action by including in his proposal a clause which provided for the organization of a naval scientific corps to assume charge of the naval observatory and the work of the hydrographic bureau, and asking that Maury be appointed to direct the new establishment. Although this part of the proposal was struck out of the bill by Congress, Mallory undoubtedly hoped to show through it that his sponsorship of the original measure had not been due to any malicious intent on his part to hurt Maury. As a matter of fact, he could also point out that a year before the enactment of the efficiency measure he had introduced a resolution providing for an award of \$20,000 to Maury in recognition of his services in compiling his wind and current charts.<sup>17</sup> But Maury's resentment was too deep to be overcome by conciliatory moves, and in later years Mallory was to feel its effects in connection with his work as secretary of the navy in the Confederacy.

To what extent Mallory's efforts to defend the action of the naval retiring board were expressions of his convictions as well as fulfillment of his responsibility as chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, cannot be determined from available evidence. It seems clear that the wide publicity given to the Maury case tended to obscure the real issue involved; namely, the need for a more efficient officer personnel in the navy. Of this need, Mallory seemed to be firmly convinced, and his success in preserving the board with certain modifications of its final authority at least insured continued scrutiny of the work of naval officers. That many of them would resent such scrutiny was inevitable, and their condemnation of the sponsor of the program was sufficiently vociferous to cause a contemporary to say later that Mallory became

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., 237 (January 11, 1858).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 273 (January 21, 1856).

"the butt of every naval officer in the country."<sup>18</sup> So far as the general public was concerned, however, interest in the matter apparently ceased with the reinstatement of Maury, and although one Florida newspaper had severely criticized Mallory,<sup>19</sup> his re-election to the Senate indicates that his political interests were not damaged by the controversy.

But while these debates over such questions as the flogging of seamen and the retirement of officers were going on, other problems which were of greater significance in connection with the development of a broad naval policy were becoming involved in the growing sectional conflict of the 1850's, and to some of these Mallory's attention had already been turned. To a certain extent, his interest in improving naval efficiency was a reflection of a growing belief in the South that a bigger and better navy would not only increase the prestige of the United States among those nations with whom possible diplomatic and territorial conflicts might arise, but would also contribute toward the improvement of American commercial relations with other countries. In the early stages of the discussion it seems to have been assumed that expansion of commercial relations would afford the South a better opportunity to develop its own trade connections abroad, and every southern seaport of any pretensions had the ambition to become a great trading center. Chambers of commerce, boards of trade, merchants, editors, public-spirited citizens, and seaport officials expressed their belief that the whole South would benefit from the establishment of direct trade with both Europe and South America. The relief from the necessity of paying commercial "tribute" to the North, it was argued, would stimulate building, manufacturing, mining, financial institutions, new railroads, immigration, and above all, greatly aid agriculture.

During the Polk administration, therefore, southern Democrats had initiated a program of shipping subsidies, under which government

<sup>18</sup> Edward A. Pollard, *The First Year of the War* (Richmond, 1862), 26.

<sup>19</sup> While the debate in the Senate was at its height, the *Pensacola Gazette* of April 12, 1856, said: "We once thought and so we presume did most of our readers, that our State had been extremely fortunate in having one of her Senators placed at the head of the Naval Committee: but alas, man is born to disappointment—no man could have done us more injustice." Quoted in Clubbs, "Stephen Russell Mallory the Elder," 160.

funds or the granting of government contracts might be used to encourage the construction and operation of merchant steamers, the theory being that in case of emergency such vessels could easily be converted into warships, which would thus increase the strength of the navy. Behind this, of course, was the hope that the subsidies would be distributed in such a manner as to decrease the disparity between the shipping activities of the North and the South; but by the time Mallory entered the Senate, in 1851, it was apparent that the plan was not bringing the results which the South had expected. It so happened, for example, that the lion's share of the big subsidized mail contracts was confined largely to the northern ports, and especially to New York. The first definite sign of the southern reaction came in 1850, when a convention at Old Point Comfort, Virginia, declared that it was the "duty of the Federal government to extend as much aid to a Southern mail line to Europe as to Northern lines."<sup>20</sup>

But the government, forced by the avowed purpose of the program to consider the improvement of the navy rather than direct aid to a section, naturally found it more satisfactory to make contracts with well-established shipping companies than to deal with firms whose ability to give efficient service might depend mainly on the subsidies they received. Consequently, most of the contracts continued to go to northern companies, and the disappointed southern commercial interests began to work for a change in the system. Their attack soon took the form of a campaign to break down the relationship between subsidies and the development of the navy; and it was as one of the spokesmen of this effort that Mallory first became involved in the discussion of the subsidies question. Although the record shows him to have been less active than several other senators, his participation affords an illustration of the methods which were employed.

The occasion for the opening of the attack in Congress appeared when the House of Representatives incorporated in the deficiency appropriations bill for 1852 the sum of \$236,500 for the renewal of the

<sup>20</sup> Robert R. Russel, *Economic Aspects of Southern Sectionalism, 1840-1861* (Urbana, 1924), 115.

government's contract with the Collins line of steamers for the transportation of mail between New York and Liverpool. When this bill came to the Senate, its Committee on Finance proposed that the company's compensation be fixed at \$33,000 per trip for twenty-six trips a year in order that it might compete more effectively with the Cunard line, which was operating under British subsidy. Senator Robert M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, immediately voiced his opposition to this proposal, and in the course of his remarks said: "I know that, at one time, it was said that we could thus maintain a navy upon cheaper terms than we could without this system. It was said that it was a substitute for a navy. Under that plausible and seductive cry, many, I know, were carried off; but I believe that there are very few who now maintain that it is in this way that we can build up a steam navy."<sup>21</sup>

Apparently taking his cue from Hunter's statement, Mallory entered the debate on May 7 with an informal suggestion that contracts for the transportation of mail should be transferred from the Navy Department to the Post Office Department. Three days later he presented an amendment which would provide for such transfer in the case of the Collins contract, explaining that in his opinion the swelling of naval appropriations by including subsidies to steamship lines "has done more to place the Navy improperly before the country than anything else which has ever occurred to it."<sup>22</sup> This amendment was rejected by the Senate, as was another specifying that the contract should terminate in 1854, and in the end the proposal for the increased appropriation was also voted down, while the continuation of the contract on the old basis was approved.

Thus far the opponents of the subsidy program had accomplished nothing more than preventing an increase in a single case. In doing this, however, they had planted the idea that the system as a whole was not necessarily beneficial to the navy, and they proceeded to cultivate this idea assiduously as their attack continued. During the next session of Congress, for example, Mallory returned to the subject with a statement that he felt it to be his duty "to vote against every increase

<sup>21</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., 1146-48 (April 21, 1852).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 1295 (May 7, 1852) and 1311 (May 10, 1852).

of compensation to steam lines," because the ships which were being built under such arrangements were not suitable for conversion into warships. These vessels, he said, "have not one single element of war steamers, except in speed; and that is calculated rather to enable them to escape from than to meet any enemy."<sup>23</sup> And five years later he was still using a similar argument when he opposed the continuation of a subsidy for New England fishing interests on the grounds that their contribution in training sailors was of little value to the navy.<sup>24</sup>

Partly as a result of this persistent campaign and partly because of the increasing seriousness of the sectional controversy, the whole shipping subsidy plan was abandoned in 1859; but long before that time the southern commercial interests, having given up all hope of aid through its operation, had turned their attention to the possibility of achieving their economic independence by more direct means. Still convinced that a strong navy would increase the ability of the United States to command respect abroad, they were in sympathy with Mallory's efforts as chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs to improve naval efficiency in both personnel and equipment. He, in turn, understood and sympathized with their desire to find commercial outlets suited to their interests, and showed his willingness to go with them, even when their plans began to call for further territorial expansion.

The concept of manifest destiny which pervaded American thinking in the 1850's was, of course, applied differently in different parts of the country;<sup>25</sup> and in the case of those interested in promoting commercial development in the South it was logical that the island of Cuba should loom large in the planning. Situated within easy reach of every southern port from Charleston to New Orleans and in a strategic position for developing trade with the entire Caribbean area, it might be-

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., 1089 (March 3, 1853). He had also pointed out earlier that the Collins vessels were planked with pine, whereas the navy specifications called for oak. *Ibid.*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., 1265 (May 6, 1852).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., 2050-52 (May 12, 1858). In this case he suggested that the proposed \$300,000 subsidy should be used instead to increase the pay of sailors in the navy and merchant marine.

<sup>25</sup> For an excellent survey of this movement, see Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny; A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History* (Baltimore, 1935).

come for the South what New York was for the North, provided it could be acquired from Spain. From their point of view, therefore, the effect of the Ostend Manifesto in antagonizing Spain on the one hand and arousing the antislavery element on the other was unfortunate; but they refused to abandon their hope that through a combination of diplomacy and naval prestige Spain might be persuaded to dispose of the island.

As a resident of southern Florida, Mallory was in a position to see more clearly than some the extent to which southern commercial development depended upon Cuba, and from the beginning of the movement he was an ardent advocate of its acquisition. Stressing again and again the economic advantages of annexation, he finally "reached the height of spread-eaglim" in 1859 with the statement that it was no more possible for the United States to pause in its career than for the free and untrammelled eagle to cease to soar.<sup>26</sup> Attracted, perhaps, by this enthusiasm, President Buchanan offered him the post of minister to Spain in 1858, with the somewhat indirect explanation that the mission was a highly responsible one, and that "if you should prove successful, you will identify your name with one of the greatest events in our history," but that even if he did not succeed, "this will still be an additional step towards the accomplishment of an object which cannot much longer be delayed."<sup>27</sup>

In reply, Mallory expressed his confidence "that the political condition of Spain is pointing to that change in our relations toward her to which we have so long looked [and] that we may by prudence and firmness now expedite and effect it," but stated that "circumstances of a domestic nature constrain me to decline the honorable distinction to which you invite me."<sup>28</sup> What these circumstances were, he did not say;

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 207. See also Mallory's speech, in *Congressional Globe*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., 1331 (February 25, 1859).

<sup>27</sup> James Buchanan to Mallory, July 7, 1858, in Buchanan Papers (Pennsylvania Historical Society).

<sup>28</sup> Mallory to Buchanan, July 13, 1858, *ibid.* In referring to this several years later, Mallory merely said: "I was twice offered the post of minister to Spain by Mr. Buchanan and was compelled by my situation to decline it." Stephen R. Mallory, Diary No. 2, quoted in Clubbs, "Stephen Russell Mallory the Elder," 192. This so-called diary, an unpublished autobiographical account written by Mallory for his children, is in the Southern Historical Collection (University of North Carolina Library).



but there is a suggestion in his use of the words "prudence and firmness" that he hesitated to become involved in a procedure which might advance beyond diplomatic action. He was, of course, well aware of the fact that the question of Cuba had become closely linked with the slavery question, and he may have feared that any indication of forceful physical intervention would place still another powerful weapon in the hands of the opponents of annexation. Although he wanted Cuba, he did not want to stir up either a foreign or a domestic conflict in getting it.

So far as the domestic situation was concerned, he seems to have realized that his hope of accomplishing this lay in the possibility of divorcing the question of territorial expansion from the sectional conflict, and to this he had already turned his attention. Nearly four months earlier, during a Senate debate on the Kansas Lecompton constitution, he had said:

The constitutional rights of the South, Mr. President, never have depended, and I trust never will depend, on an equality of slave and free States in this Confederacy. If they depend on such an equality, their rights are gone now, for that day has passed. This political equality cannot be maintained. It can neither be maintained by expansion, by acquisition, nor by division of territory; for these are resources equally open to both parties. Had the South, in days gone by, been united on the expediency of adding Cuba, and, when the apple was ripe, plucked it, and made it a southern State—nay, sir, were she to adopt a wise policy now, and resolve to take it and talk about it afterwards—friendly and contiguous Canada, fast gravitating towards the North, would come in to establish northern political supremacy. Therefore, in my judgment, we must look inevitably to a preponderance of free States in this Confederacy. If I believed that the rights of the South were to depend on an equality, I would use every human effort of which I am capable to induce the South to go out of the Union tomorrow. It is folly for a man, when he sees his doom ahead of him, to wait hour after hour until the stern reality is upon him.<sup>29</sup>

Under the circumstances, of course, such reasoning was almost sure to be futile; but its real significance lies in the light which it throws on Mallory himself. Just as he had worked for a program of naval efficiency and had then made concessions to appease the opposition, so now he desired territorial expansion and was seeking a way to accomplish

<sup>29</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., 1138 (March 16, 1858).

it without a conflict. This seems to suggest a man who is willing to raise issues and support them without adequate consideration of the ultimate consequences involved, and whose instincts are too peaceable to permit him to force those issues when they lead to actual strife. It is interesting to note that in trying to avoid a crisis over expansion he also mentions the possibility of secession to preserve constitutional rights, apparently without any expectation that this question will ever reach such a crisis. And when secession actually came, less than three years later, he turned his attention to the possibility of accomplishing it without a resort to war.

On December 27, 1860, one week after South Carolina's secession, Mallory wrote to one of the retiring senators from that state: "Every northern man I meet, who is not a leader of Republicanism, admits the justice of our complaints and the readiness of the Northern people to provide a remedy." He expressed his fear that "the Republicans are determined on civil war, if they can bring it about in any form or by any means," but he thought that there might be a break between the radical and conservative wings of that party over the question. "If we can stave off bloodshed," he said, "we shall have a triumphant and peaceful conclusion to our difficulties."<sup>30</sup> And four weeks later, in announcing his withdrawal from the Senate following the secession of his own state, he again voiced his belief that war could be avoided.

In thus severing our connection with sister States [he said], we desire to go in peace, to maintain towards them an attitude not only of peace, but, if possible, of kindness; and it is for them to determine whether we shall do so or not; and whether commerce, the great pacificator of earth, is to content us as producers, manufacturers, and consumers, in future friendly relations. If folly, wickedness, or pride shall preclude the hope of peace, they may at once rear up difficulties in our path, leading at once to what I confess I regard and dread as one of the greatest calamities that can befall a nation—civil war; a civil war embracing equally North and South. . . . But, sir, we desire to part from you in peace.<sup>31</sup>

Meanwhile, momentous events had taken place back home. On the day of Florida's secession, United States troops stationed at Fort Bar-

<sup>30</sup> Mallory to James H. Hammond, December 27, 1860, in Hammond Correspondence (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

<sup>31</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 485-86 (January 21, 1861).

rancas in Pensacola harbor—taking a cue from the example of Major Anderson at Charleston—moved into the adjacent and stronger Fort Pickens. A repetition of the South Carolina incident seemed to be in the making. As there was as yet no central directing southern government, the seceded states struggled individually to protect their own interests. The day previous to secession, Senators Mallory and Yulee telegraphed Governor M. S. Perry from Washington of rumors pertaining to contemplated movements of Federal troops, and suggested that he call on neighboring Georgia and Alabama for state troop aid. The next day Mallory personally telegraphed Colonel William H. Chase, commander of the Florida troops, that “All here look to you for Pickens.”<sup>32</sup> Chase replied that Fort Pickens could not be taken without great sacrifice of life, and Mallory showed this answer to his southern colleagues, who unanimously agreed to telegraph Chase to make no assault, as measures pending convinced them that “Bloodshed now may be fatal to our cause.”<sup>33</sup>

The primary purpose of this caution, of course, was to prevent any action which might be construed as the beginning of hostilities. With this in mind, therefore, Mallory, together with Senators John Slidell of Louisiana and Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Alabama, had a personal interview with President Buchanan and Secretary of the Navy Isaac Toucey and received assurance from them that no excuse for state attacks upon either Fort Sumter or Fort Pickens would be afforded by the Union government.<sup>34</sup> But Mallory received a report that four ships had been ordered to Pensacola, and returning at once to Buchanan and Toucey, he persuaded them to countermand any such orders and to

<sup>32</sup> *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 129 vols. and index (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. I, p. 444. Cited hereinafter as *Official Records*.

<sup>33</sup> Mallory to . . . . ., March 22, 1861, in *American Historical Review* (New York, 1895- ), XII (1906), 104-105. Several copies of this letter were sent by Mallory “to honorable men here and there in our State . . . whose judgment I respect and whose confidence irrespective of private friendship I am of course solicitous to obtain.”

The telegram to Chase is in *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. I, p. 445. The signers, in addition to Mallory and Yulee, were Senators Slidell and Benjamin of Louisiana, Iverson of Georgia, Fitzpatrick and Clay of Alabama, Wigfall and Hemphill of Texas, and Davis of Mississippi.

<sup>34</sup> *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. I, pp. 445-46.

send a naval officer with him to Pensacola to warn off every warship coming into the harbor.<sup>35</sup> Hastening home, he learned on arriving at Pensacola, on January 28, that General Winfield Scott had ordered the sloop-of-war *Brooklyn* to proceed to reinforce Fort Pickens, and he immediately telegraphed Slidell, urging him to show the President that such a course on the part of the government would mean instant war. To clinch matters, he and Colonel Chase offered their personal assurances of the preservation of peace there if no reinforcements were attempted, and Mallory added: "I am determined to stave off war if possible."<sup>36</sup> Toucey and Secretary of War Joseph Holt immediately snapped up Mallory's and Chase's assurances, asked for signed statements to that effect, and telegraphed the Union forces at Pensacola of the gentleman's agreement.<sup>37</sup> Of course, as Mallory himself later said, he personally made no truce or armistice, having neither authority nor command, but what he did was simply "to give the Administration a fright and induce them to propose terms to Chase to keep troops out."<sup>38</sup>

His work done, the ex-senator made plans for retirement from public life, even going so far as to decline the post of chief justice of the Florida admiralty court. But at Montgomery, Alabama, Mallory's former colleagues were setting up the Confederacy, and President Davis sent for Mallory, and informed him not only that his name had been submitted to Congress for the post of secretary of the navy in the new government, but also that the nomination had been opposed by two members of Florida's own delegation. Next day, Mallory learned that the opposition contended that he "was not sufficiently sound upon Southern Rights," giving as the basis of their argument his peaceful actions in the Fort Pickens episode.<sup>39</sup> Davis, however, was able to over-

<sup>35</sup> Mallory to . . . . ., March 22, 1861, in *American Historical Review*, XII, 105.

<sup>36</sup> Mallory to John Slidell, "or in his absence Hon. R. M. Hunter or Governor Bigler" (telegram), January 28, 1861, in Buchanan Papers. See also, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. I, p. 354.

<sup>37</sup> *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 30 vols. (Washington, 1894-1922), Ser. I, Vol. IV, pp. 74-77. Cited hereinafter as *Official Records, Navies*.

<sup>38</sup> Mallory to . . . . ., March 22, 1861, in *American Historical Review*, XII, 108.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

rule such opposition, and finally persuaded the Floridian to accept the post. Here, in this office, the naval statesman came into his own.

If Mallory had hope of gaining any personal glory from his new office, he was soon disillusioned. The most common and essential resources for building and equipping a navy were not available. Although the South possessed an extensive coastline, it was not essentially seafaring like the East, preferring navigation on its inland rivers instead. There were just two naval yards in the South—Norfolk and Pensacola—in 1861. While an excellent yard before Virginia's secession, Norfolk's had been damaged quite seriously by the abandoning Union forces; Pensacola's was merely one for the repair of ships, not for their construction. The few private shipyards were incapable of building and equipping the most moderate warship. Although the South had a good supply of raw naval stores for the old style wooden vessels, there were not sufficient numbers of skilled workmen capable of converting them from their crude state into usable products. One of the region's greatest problems was the lack of adequate facilities for exploiting its iron supply. Indeed, until Virginia seceded, there was not even an iron works where guns of capable caliber could be made. Only a few vessels had been seized in southern ports at secession, and the majority of these were not suitable for conversion into war vessels; even the few converted ones, as Mallory had contended in the ship-subsidy controversies, were unfit for offensive action. And equally serious was the fact that the naval personnel contained a greater percentage of former Union officers than seamen, with the result that crews had to be made up largely of raw landmen.<sup>40</sup>

Yet, despite all these difficulties, Mallory went ahead with his plan of campaign, which contained one foremost major objective—to break the Union blockade. In his opinion, the best way seemed to be twofold;

<sup>40</sup> This and the following paragraphs are based largely on the treatment of Confederate naval plans and problems in Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy*, and James D. Bulloch, *The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe*, 2 vols. (New York, 1884). More recent discussions of various phases of the broad problem are: Frank L. Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy* (Chicago, 1931); Samuel B. Thompson, *Confederate Purchasing Operations Abroad* (Chapel Hill, 1935); and William M. Robinson, *The Confederate Privateers* (New Haven, 1928).

to put into action enough commerce-destroying cruisers to bring the war home to the northern mercantile interests, and to provide enough ironclad ships to smash the blockading squadrons into a negligible factor. In other words, the cruisers were to harass and destroy Union shipping over wide and varied areas, thus drawing away and diminishing the blockading enemy forces from the southern coasts, while the ironclads seized their opportunity to inflict telling blows nearer the home shores. Since this plan was not a marked departure from the traditional pattern of naval planning, its success would necessarily depend on superior power and personnel; and Mallory worked diligently and unsparingly to attain that end.

One of his first acts after taking office was to send "experienced and judicious naval officers and civilians" to the ports of the United States and Canada to purchase suitable vessels. He obviously had the cruiser in mind when he said: "I propose to adopt a class of vessels hitherto unknown to naval services. The perfection of a warship would doubtless be a combination of the greatest known ocean speed with the greatest known floating battery and power of resistance."<sup>41</sup> Mallory estimated that under existing conditions it would require from twelve to eighteen months to build such a ship in the Confederacy, and because he realized the dangers in such a delay he ordered James D. Bulloch to proceed immediately to England to arrange for the purchase or construction of six ships. Bulloch's instructions specified that "our ships must be enabled to keep the sea, and to make extended cruises, propellers fast under both steam and canvas." They were to be "no larger than may be sufficient to combine the requisite speed and power," and each was to have a battery "of one or two heavy pivot guns and two or more broadside guns."<sup>42</sup> After trying in vain to purchase suitable vessels, Bulloch succeeded in making contracts for the construction of two cruisers which went into the Confederate service as the *Florida*

<sup>41</sup> Mallory to President Davis, April 26, 1861, in *Official Records, Navies*, Ser. II, Vol. II, p. 51.

<sup>42</sup> Mallory to Bulloch, May 9, 1861, *ibid.*, 64. This entire volume consists largely of Mallory's correspondence with Bulloch and numerous other Confederate agents concerning the purchase or construction of ships in Europe.

and the *Alabama*. Despite diplomatic and financial complications, other vessels of this type were obtained from time to time, and while their threat to northern shipping did not seriously interrupt trade between the United States and the outside world, it drove most of the American merchant ships to foreign ownership.

But because the Federal government refused to let the demands of the shippers for protection against the cruisers interfere with the enforcement of the blockade, Mallory was forced to turn to the second part of his program—the construction of ironclads to break that blockade. His attention had been drawn to this type of vessels during his service as chairman of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, and in May, 1861, he asked the Confederate Congress to provide for the construction of one or more vessels “as a matter of first necessity.”<sup>43</sup> Upon receiving the necessary appropriation he dispatched James H. North as a second agent to England, ostensibly to work with Bulloch but actually with detailed instructions to work secretly on the purchase or construction of an ironclad ship.<sup>44</sup> The result of this mission was the construction of the famous “Laird rams,” designed for use as blockade runners, but the failure to get the vessels into service prevented a real test of the soundness of the plan.

In the meantime, however, Mallory investigated the possibilities of making iron plates within the Confederacy<sup>45</sup> to be used in plating the hulls of wooden vessels for river and coastal operations. At least five such ships were prepared from the limited resources available, but except for the short and spectacular career of the *Virginia* (*Merrimac*) their contribution was unimportant, perhaps because the superiority of the North in resources and manufacturing facilities enabled it to build better ironclads more or less at will.

As soon as Mallory realized that his plan for ironclads was being appropriated and used more effectively by the Federal authorities, he turned his attention to the possibility of devising methods to undermine

<sup>43</sup> Mallory to Charles M. Conrad, May 10, 1861, *ibid.*, 67-69.

<sup>44</sup> Mallory to James H. North, May 17, 1861, *ibid.*, 70-72.

<sup>45</sup> See, for example, Mallory to Duncan N. Ingraham, May 20, 1861, and Ingraham to Mallory, May 23 and 28, 1861, *ibid.*, 72-73.

their effectiveness. Again drawing upon previous experience in the Committee on Naval Affairs, he organized the Confederate Torpedo Bureau. He knew of the experimental work which had been done in the efforts to develop an underwater explosive, and as it became clear that cannon were almost useless against the Federal ironclads he began the promotion of pioneer construction work in the making of submarine mines and torpedoes. Once more it was necessary to improvise, and the Confederate torpedoes were for the most part crude instruments, such as demijohns and beer kegs filled with gunpowder. Sometimes they were used as floating mines, as at the entrance to Mobile harbor, and sometimes they were attached to the prow of small boats which exploded them by ramming the intended victim below its armor plate.<sup>46</sup> Following the successful use of such explosives in the wrecking of the Federal ironclads *Housatonic* and *New Ironsides* in Charleston harbor by two small torpedo boats, plans were made in 1864 for a more systematic application of this principle.<sup>47</sup> Although the program as a whole failed because of lack of resources for the production of greater numbers, Secretary Welles stated after the close of the war that the Union "lost more vessels by torpedoes than from all other causes whatever"; and, looking ahead, the Confederate torpedo boats may be considered as forerunners of the later submarine.

Judged from the point of view of the extent to which Mallory's plan accomplished its main objective, it must of course be considered as a failure. On the other hand, judged from the point of view of what was actually accomplished in the face of lack of material and financial resources, its results were little short of phenomenal. This perhaps suggests that the failure was due less to lack of soundness in the plan than to lack of ability to carry it out, and it must be remembered that throughout the war Mallory's work as secretary of the navy depended as much upon complete co-operation from his colleagues and subordinates as

<sup>46</sup> For a detailed description of the torpedoes and the various ways in which they were used, see Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy*, 750-68. A somewhat different account is in Charles L. Lewis, *Matthew Fontaine Maury, the Pathfinder of the Seas* (Annapolis, 1927), 148-55.

<sup>47</sup> See, especially, Mallory to Bulloch, July 18 and November 21, 1864, in *Official Records, Navies*, Ser. II, Vol. II, pp. 688-89, 769-71.



upon his own ability. Such co-operation was never attained. In the matter of financial arrangements for the purchase and construction of ships abroad, for example, funds appropriated by the Confederate Congress were rarely delivered, with the result that his agents in Europe frequently had to proceed on the basis of their own financial credit. This led to friction and misunderstanding in which they were more likely to blame him than to trace the cause back to its real source. In order to meet such difficulties he supported the plans for the extensive purchase of cotton in local markets, and undertook to ship it through the blockade for sale in foreign markets, placing the proceeds at the disposal of the purchasing agents in Europe. Bulloch later remarked that Mallory inaugurated "a minor revolution in the mere matter of official bookkeeping" by giving these purchasing agents a general command of the net proceeds instead of tying them up with the customary red tape of separate bureau accounts, and added his testimony that his experience led him to believe that the arrangements worked satisfactorily.<sup>48</sup>

Not all the agents were as competent or as unselfish as Bulloch, however, with the result that some of those in Europe and many others at home kept up a persistent campaign of criticism against Mallory. Among his bitterest critics at home were Edward A. Pollard, who, as editor of the *Richmond Examiner*, was in a position to wield considerable influence, and Matthew Fontaine Maury, who was apparently unwilling to forget the retirement episode of the 1850's. Pollard had to acknowledge that the Navy Department "with all its drawbacks could exhibit results of no mean order," but in doing so insisted that Mallory had "neither the respect nor the confidence of the public."<sup>49</sup> Maury entered the Confederate service in June, 1861, and almost immediately began to complain of red tape, selecting President Davis and Mallory as his principal targets. As chief of the Torpedo Bureau he was in charge of the work of constructing the torpedoes and of making experiments for their more general use, but he seems also to have devoted a considerable part of his attention to the preparation of articles for publication under a

<sup>48</sup> Bulloch, *Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe*, II, 220-21.

<sup>49</sup> Edward A. Pollard, *The Third Year of the War* (New York, 1865), 143-44.

pseudonym. Obviously desirous of obtaining a more responsible administrative assignment, he claimed that his failure to receive a position in the Navy Department was due to Mallory's fear of being superseded by him.<sup>50</sup> As his attacks increased in bitterness he was finally sent to England to purchase naval supplies and to continue his experiments there.

Although the discontent spread by such men as Maury and Pollard planted the seed of public dissatisfaction with regard to Mallory's work, it took the disastrous naval engagements of the first half of 1862 to bring it to full flower. The capture of New Orleans on April 25, in an attack from the Gulf of Mexico as a part of Farragut's brilliant naval operations, was charged to Mallory's insistence that the defense of the city against possible attacks from the interior by way of the Mississippi River should receive the major attention. Two weeks later the retaking of Norfolk by the Union forces, followed by the destruction of the iron-clad *Virginia* by its own crew to prevent capture, brought public indignation to fever pitch. All sorts of rumors became current, among the most prevalent being one that the Richmond authorities had not been ignorant of plans for the destruction of the vessel, and Pollard called the incident "a sharp and unexpected blow to the confidence of the people of the South in their government."<sup>51</sup>

A court of inquiry, which was immediately convened to investigate the destruction of the *Virginia*, reported it to have been "unnecessary at the time and place it was effected,"<sup>52</sup> and Mallory ordered a court-martial to meet on July 5 to try Flag-Officer Josiah Tattnall, the *Virginia*'s commander, whom he held to be "immediately and exclusively responsible for the order to destroy the ship." The court-martial exonerated Tattnall on the grounds that he had been instructed by Mallory to move up the James River instead of up the York, as he had wished to do, and that having been trapped in the James as a result, he had properly destroyed his ship to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Lewis, *Matthew Fontaine Maury*, 166-67.

<sup>51</sup> Edward A. Pollard, *The Second Year of the War* (Richmond, 1863), 107.

<sup>52</sup> This report is in *Official Records, Navies*, Ser. I, Vol. VII, pp. 787-88.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 790-99.

This obviously deliberate move to discredit Mallory was followed up a little over a month later with the adoption of a resolution by the Confederate Congress providing "That a joint select committee of five on the part of the Senate and five on the part of the House be appointed to investigate the administration of the Navy Department under its present head."<sup>54</sup> In a thorough investigation, which lasted from September, 1862, to March, 1863, this committee accumulated page after page of testimony and evidence,<sup>55</sup> and concluded its work with a report in which Mallory was completely exonerated. Not only did it refute the charges brought by his critics of injudicious actions in specific matters ranging from the making of contracts to the formulation of policies, but it also stated that it had nothing but praise to offer for his handling of the difficult problems which he faced daily.<sup>56</sup> To his enemies and opponents, of course, this merely meant that he was too strong politically to be ousted from his position. Whatever the cause may have been, he was still the secretary of the navy when Richmond fell, and thus achieved the distinction of having been one of the only two members of the Confederate cabinet who retained their original portfolios from the beginning to the end of its existence.

Loyal to the end, Mallory accompanied President Davis and the remnant of the cabinet on the flight south, and was arrested soon after the party broke up in Georgia.<sup>57</sup> In June, 1865, he wrote to President Johnson from his prison at Fort LaFayette, seeking a pardon, offering to take the oath of allegiance and to aid the administration in any way to iron out differences, and endeavoring to prove that he "never was and never

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, Ser. II, Vol. I, p. 431.

<sup>55</sup> This evidence was published by the Confederate Congress under the title: *Report of Evidence Taken before a Joint Special Committee of both Houses of the Confederate Congress to Investigate the Affairs of the Navy Department* (Richmond, 1863). Most of it appears also in *Official Records, Navies*, Ser. II, Vol. I, pp. 431-809.

<sup>56</sup> These conclusions were published separately as *Report from the Joint Select Committee to Investigate the Management of the Navy Department* (Richmond, 1864).

<sup>57</sup> For his account of this flight, published posthumously, see Stephen R. Mallory, "The Last Days of the Confederate Government," in *McClure's Magazine* (New York, 1893-1926), XVI (1900-1901), 99-107, 239-48. See also, Alfred J. Hanna, *Flight into Oblivion* (Richmond, 1938), especially 242-43.

can be regarded as a leader of secession.”<sup>58</sup> But northern shipping interests had suffered too much at his hands for him to be given a quick release, and it was not until after ten months of imprisonment that he finally received his parole. His financial status ruined, he reopened his law office at Pensacola and spent the remaining seven years of his life seeking to heal the wounds and bitterness of the War.

<sup>58</sup> Mallory to Johnson, June 21, 1865, in *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. VIII, pp. 662-64.

# The Early Baptist Church in the Lower Southwest

BY WALTER B. POSEY

In 1773 Rev. Samuel Swayze, a Congregational minister and wealthy farmer from New Jersey, settled his family on land which lay on the Homochitto River in the Natchez district of Mississippi. Soon after arriving, Swayze proceeded to organize his family, relatives, and friends into a Congregational church. This effort marks the introduction of Protestantism into the lower Southwest. Annoyed by Indians and persecuted by the Catholics, the church had a tenuous existence and died with its organizer and pastor in 1784.<sup>1</sup>

In the spring of 1780 some emigrants left South Carolina and set out for the Natchez region. In the group were Richard Curtis, a licensed Baptist minister, and others of the same faith. Arriving in northeastern Tennessee, the travelers built three large flatboats which they launched on the Holston River. With all its possessions on board, this little band embarked on the perilous journey down the Holston, Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers. All went well until the boats reached a bend in the Tennessee River, near the present site of Chattanooga. Here a group of Cherokee Indians attacked the three boats and succeeded in massacring all in the last boat except one woman, who was held captive by the Indians for about three years and then was returned to her friends. The voyagers on the two remaining boats continued their long journey and finally reached their destination at the mouth of Cole's

<sup>1</sup> John F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi as a Province, Territory, and State* (Jackson, 1880), 107; John G. Jones, *Introduction of Protestantism into Mississippi and the Southwest* (St. Louis, 1866), 13-15.

Creek, about twenty miles above Natchez. After a permanent settlement was made a few miles from the Mississippi, the Baptist group began to hold religious meetings in private houses. Being without a regularly ordained minister, the colony requested Elder Curtis to preach, to exercise discipline, and to baptize with the consent of the church in South Carolina.<sup>2</sup>

These Protestant gatherings were held somewhat secretly because the Spanish government recognized and permitted only the Roman Catholic form of worship. The Baptist group flourished for several years without meeting any opposition. When Curtis' work spread to other settlements, however, the Spanish and Catholic authorities ordered the Baptists to "desist from their heretical psalm-singing, praying and preaching in public or they would be subjected to sundry pains and penalties."<sup>3</sup> After disregarding the warnings of the Spanish commandant at Natchez, Curtis was arrested and brought before Governor Manuel Gayoso in April, 1795. He was released after promising to obey the laws of the province. Within a month Curtis in a very clandestine manner performed a wedding ceremony. News of this act brought orders in August for his arrest a second time. A small detachment of Spanish troops planned to surround a house where Curtis, Stephen De Alvo, and William Hamberlin were conducting a meeting. Warned by a sentinel, the three escaped, fled to South Carolina, and remained there for two and a half years. When the Natchez country passed to the United States in March, 1798, Curtis, now an ordained preacher, was recalled to that section. Arriving in Jefferson County in midsummer, he and his friends established Salem Church on the South Fork of Cole's Creek.<sup>4</sup> Within seven years four more Baptist churches—New Hope, Bethel, New Providence, and Ebenezer—were established. Under the leadership of the mother church, the five Baptist churches in Mississippi organized

<sup>2</sup> Jones, *Protestantism in the Southwest*, 25-32; *A Republication of the Minutes of the Mississippi Baptist Association* (New Orleans, 1849), 3-4; Jesse L. Boyd, *A Popular History of the Baptists in Mississippi* (Jackson, 1930), 18-20.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Jones, *Protestantism in the Southwest*, 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 30-48 *passim*; Goodspeed (ed.), *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1891), II, 370-71.

at Salem Church, in September, 1806, the first association in the lower Southwest.<sup>5</sup>

River travel allowed easy passage from Mississippi into the Louisiana region. Among these shifting settlers was Bailey E. Chaney, a Baptist preacher, who preached near Baton Rouge in 1799 and attempted to organize a church there. In November, 1804, Joseph Willis, a licensed mulatto Baptist minister, had preached at Vermilion, forty miles southwest of Baton Rouge, what was probably the first Protestant sermon ever heard west of the Mississippi. Considerable preaching had been heard in Louisiana before the first Baptist church was organized in Washington Parish in October, 1812.<sup>6</sup> Progress was slow even with organization; and in 1818 the Louisiana Association was formed by five churches—Beulah, Debourn, Vermilion, Calvary, and Plaquemines—with Joseph Willis as its first moderator. Growth of the association was slow; by 1824 there were only 8 Baptist churches, 10 preachers, and 150 members scattered over a territory that was 400 miles long and 150 miles wide. The churches were usually twenty to fifty miles apart and accessible only by boat through the bayous.<sup>7</sup>

There were settlers of the Baptist faith among the early Americans who moved into Alabama. The earliest church, however, was not formed until October 4, 1808, when the Flint River Church was organized by Rev. John Nicholson at the home of James Deaton in Madison County. In Alabama, at this period, in addition to Nicholson, there were only two Baptist preachers—John Canterbury and Zadek Baker. In 1810 Rev. James Courtney organized a church in southern Alabama in the present Clarke County. There was no marked increase in the number of Baptists until after the Treaty of Fort Jackson, in 1814, when a flood of immigrants poured in. Two years later the first association was formed when the Beckbee Association was organized by

<sup>5</sup> Jones, *Protestantism in the Southwest*, 52. Records for the first meeting have not been found; those for the year 1807 are in Boyd, *Baptists in Mississippi*, 28-32.

<sup>6</sup> John T. Christian, *A History of the Baptists in Louisiana* (Shreveport, 1923), 42-43, 50-51.

<sup>7</sup> William E. Paxton, *A History of the Baptists of Louisiana* (St. Louis, 1888), 140-48. See, also, Walter H. Brooks, "The Evolution of the Negro Baptist Church," in *Journal of Negro History* (Washington, 1916- ), VII (1922), 13; David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America* (New York, 1848), 778-79.

the churches in Washington and Clarke counties. Although there were not more than fifty Baptist churches in the entire state by 1820,<sup>8</sup> a tremendous growth was imminent. The necessary leadership was to be provided by Alexander Travis, who had settled in South Alabama, and by Hosea Holcombe, who had immigrated to North Alabama.

The lower Southwest was a fertile country producing abundant crops of cotton and sugar. An intelligent and energetic people, chiefly interested in money-making, rapidly filled the region.<sup>9</sup> Rev. John M. Peck visited the section about 1824 and noted that

Slaves were introduced into the country by thousands every year. The forests were being leveled and farms extended as if by the hand of magic, and the people generally so absorbed in money making that they seemed to be infatuated; and one who suffered religion to interfere in the least was unhesitatingly pronounced a fanatic; and by so doing he was thought to give evidence of a weakness of mind bordering on insanity.<sup>10</sup>

New Orleans, in particular, proved hostile to Baptist progress. Sunday was little distinguished from a week day.<sup>11</sup> By the 1830's it was estimated that New Orleans had but one church to every 3,200 inhabitants.<sup>12</sup> As late as 1844 New Orleans seemed to young Henry B. Whipple, who later became Episcopal Bishop of Minnesota, "to be at the extreme of everything, the hottest, the dirtiest, the most sickly, and at times the most healthy, the busiest, and the most dull, the most wicked & the most orderly."<sup>13</sup>

Into the vast field of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama the Baptist Church threw much of its strength in these formative years. The congregational form of church organization had both advantages and

<sup>8</sup> Benjamin F. Riley, *A Memorial History of the Baptists of Alabama* (Philadelphia, 1923), 4-5; Hosea Holcombe, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Alabama* (Philadelphia, 1840), 41-42, 45.

<sup>9</sup> The great architect, Benjamin Latrobe, who visited in New Orleans in 1818-1819, believed that the goal of the Americans was money. "They are," he wrote, "in an eternal bustle. Their limbs, their heads, and their hearts move to that sole object." Benjamin H. Latrobe, *The Journal of Latrobe* (New York, 1905), 170.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Paxton, *Baptists of Louisiana*, 149-50.

<sup>11</sup> For an excellent sketch of New Orleans prior to the Louisiana Purchase, see Arthur P. Whitaker, *The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803* (New York, 1934), 39-44.

<sup>12</sup> Joseph H. Ingraham, *The Southwest*, 2 vols. (New York, 1835), I, 188.

<sup>13</sup> Lester B. Shippee (ed.), *Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary, 1843-1844* (Minneapolis, 1937), 118.



disadvantages. While extremely democratic in its own government—an advocate of free church ideals, religious liberty, and republicanism<sup>14</sup>—it necessarily lacked the unity and strength that characterized an autocratically governed church such as the Methodist.<sup>15</sup> The power in the structure of the Baptist Church lay in the pliancy of its individual church program; the requirements of a single church dictated the policy of the local organization with disregard of others. "Rarely, if ever, has a Christian denomination showed greater flexibility in the matter of administration and more capacity to adapt its principles of government to new and changing situations," says one author.<sup>16</sup>

Molded by frontier democracy, the Baptist preacher was well equipped to serve admirably the type of convert who was attracted to the Baptist Church. Usually the preacher combined farming with his church work; often he received no pay for his clerical services. For five or six days he toiled on the farm, and on the Sabbath he preached.<sup>17</sup> Little care was used in choosing or licensing preachers inasmuch as a formal education was not demanded—and perhaps not needed. As a rule, the preacher on the frontier thundered forth "in unnatural tones, accompanied by violent physical exercises and manifest emotional excitement, [which] in too many cases took the place of intelligent exposition of the truth. . . ."<sup>18</sup> When this characteristic in the clergy was at last recognized as a defect, the Baptist Church established some colleges in the frontier regions. These schools were designed originally for the training of preachers. The notion was current that eastern colleges, although providing more culture than the western ones, produced a preacher less effective for pioneer churches.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Peter G. Mode, *The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity* (New York, 1923), 42, 51; Leonard W. Bacon, *A History of American Christianity* (New York, 1921), 221.

<sup>15</sup> See Walter B. Posey, *The Development of Methodism in the Old Southwest, 1783-1824* (Tuscaloosa, 1933), chap. IX.

<sup>16</sup> Mode, *Frontier Spirit*, 137. For the uniting of Baptist forces to cope with frontier needs, see *ibid.*, 137-43.

<sup>17</sup> Justin A. Smith, *A History of the Baptists in the Western States East of the Mississippi* (Philadelphia, 1896), 45-46; John Bond (comp.), *History of the Baptist Concord Association of Middle Tennessee and North Alabama* (Nashville, 1860), 28.

<sup>18</sup> Albert H. Newman, *A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States* (New York, 1900), 382.

<sup>19</sup> Mode, *Frontier Spirit*, 64-65.

Since opposition to a paid clergy was widespread and congregations did not usually contribute to the support of the minister, the pioneer preacher did not depend upon his church, but generally had a private source of income. Had a preacher mentioned the subject of salary, there would very likely have arisen "an outcry against him as a hireling; as one seeking theirs and not them."<sup>20</sup> With the growth of settlements this attitude was gradually modified. A typical example of this change is found in Hosea Holcombe, who consented, in 1835, to remain for another year as pastor of the Canaan (Alabama) Church on condition that he would receive financial support.<sup>21</sup>

The Baptist organization granted to the individual church a control over its members from which there was no appeal. Discipline, as a rule, was fairly strict and sometimes even severe.<sup>22</sup> On occasions preachers did not escape censure or even excommunication. In 1829 the Limestone (Alabama) Church excluded its pastor because "he had acted so hypocritically and disorderly that he has disgraced the ministerial character, and brought odium on the cause of Christ. . . ."<sup>23</sup> In the same year Linden, another Alabama church, found it necessary to convict its pastor of "an adulterous offence, for which he was excluded."<sup>24</sup> Church membership was generally refused to persons who had been divorced. Dancing and card playing barred many people from the church rolls. Disagreements between members of different churches were settled with the aid of both churches.<sup>25</sup> Church committees often investigated charges that a member had been guilty of some transgression against the accepted moral code. Adultery and fornication charges were heard frequently in an open church trial.<sup>26</sup>

The drinking of spirituous liquors was an almost universal habit on

<sup>20</sup> Boyd, *Baptists in Mississippi*, 113.

<sup>21</sup> Records of Canaan Baptist Church of Christ (MS., Private Collection), 77.

<sup>22</sup> It is the author's belief that discipline in the lower South was not as strict as in Kentucky and Tennessee.

<sup>23</sup> Holcombe, *Baptists in Alabama*, 116.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, 157.

<sup>25</sup> Christian, *Baptists in Louisiana*, 124-25.

<sup>26</sup> Records of Canaan Church, 50, 57, 65. See, also, Walter B. Posey, "Baptist Watch-Care in Early Kentucky," in Kentucky State Historical Society, *Register* (Frankfort, 1903- ), XXXIV (1936), 311-17.

the frontier,<sup>27</sup> but little effort was made by the Baptist churches to regulate drinking except where disorder or a fight occurred.<sup>28</sup> Some disciplinary measures taken by Alabama churches show, however, that intemperance was not overlooked. In 1821, the year of its formation, the Cahawba (Alabama) Church resolved that "Any member getting drunk shall be excluded for the first offence unless it is made appear to the satisfaction of the Church that they were deceived or taken in."<sup>29</sup> The Bethlehem (Alabama) Association in 1836 resolved that church members should abstain wholly from "trafficking in ardent spirits," and that intoxicating liquors should not be used "as a common drink."<sup>30</sup> A year later Canaan (Alabama) Church refused to admit persons who were in the habit of using liquor.<sup>31</sup> In 1840 the Baptist State Convention of Alabama was disturbed over "an increase in the odious vice of intemperance, arising from the increase of tippling shops."<sup>32</sup>

In the matter of slaveholding by church members, the policy of the Baptist Church was evolutionary, yet definite. Some of the earliest anti-slavery sentiment was found in the Baptist churches in Kentucky. The majority of the early Baptists were not members of the slaveholding class; hence, they either were opposed to slavery or were at least not sympathetic with it.<sup>33</sup> One of the best histories of the Baptist Church contends that the Baptists were the "first religious society in the South to declare explicitly in favor of the abolition of slavery."<sup>34</sup> This abolitionist position, however, could not be maintained in the lower South. The pressure from cotton and slavery forced concessions from the anti-

<sup>27</sup> For examples of frontier drinking, see William P. Strickland (ed.), *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, the Backwoods Preacher* (New York, 1857), 137-38, 212; Daniel Drake, *Pioneer Life in Kentucky* (Cincinnati, 1870), 56; John F. H. Claiborne, *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman*, 2 vols. (New York, 1860), I, 71-72.

<sup>28</sup> One historian of the church has succinctly stated the Baptist position by saying that the churches, at least, did not favor intemperance. Christian, *Baptists in Louisiana*, 121.

<sup>29</sup> Cahawba Church Book (MS., Private Collection), 5.

<sup>30</sup> Holcombe, *Baptists in Alabama*, 113.

<sup>31</sup> Records of Canaan Church, 349.

<sup>32</sup> *Minutes of the Seventeenth Anniversary of the Baptist State Convention of Alabama* (Tuscaloosa, 1840), 6.

<sup>33</sup> William W. Sweet, *The Story of Religions in America* (New York, 1930), 416, 422.

<sup>34</sup> John H. Spencer, *A History of Kentucky Baptists*, 2 vols. (Cincinnati, 1885), I, 183.

slavery element.<sup>85</sup> From census and church statistics it has been estimated that the Baptists held 115,000 slaves by 1837. As a natural corollary the church accepted slavery as a fixed institution,<sup>86</sup> and it became increasingly easy to convince its members that slavery was sanctioned by the Holy Writ.<sup>87</sup> In 1840 the Alabama Baptist Association adopted the following resolution which was indicative of the trouble that lay immediately ahead:

Whereas, a portion of the Baptists at the North have taken in hand to utter threats and anathemas against us, at the South, as holders of slaves, and have pronounced their excommunications, in case we do not comply with certain conditions, which they have been pleased to prescribe, we feel called upon to express our views and opinions upon this subject. We, therefore, adopt the following resolutions:

1. Resolved, That we have read our Bibles, and are fully convinced that slavery is in perfect accordance with its holy dictates, and . . . in the act of holding slaves, we sin not, and by consequence deserve not the sentence pronounced against us.

2. Resolved, That we consider that those who are engaged, in the cause of abolition, are engaged in an unholy cause. . . .

3. Resolved, That we unitedly determine to resist all interference of Northerners in our domestic relations. . . .<sup>88</sup>

Despite resolutions of this type, the Negro was heartily encouraged to join the Baptist Church. By 1840 a Baptist Church in Marion, Alabama, had 260 members—half of whom were colored. Reports from Columbus, Vicksburg, and Natchez reveal an equal proportion of white and colored members. Private instruction for the Negro was warmly

<sup>85</sup> In the matter of slavery, there is much similarity between the positions of the Baptists and the Methodists. The author has traced the slavery issue in the Methodist Church; it seems unnecessary to relate again the steps. See Walter B. Posey, "Influence of Slavery upon the Methodist Church in the Early South and Southwest," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, 1914- ), XVII (1930-1931), 530-42, and "The Advance of Methodism into the Lower Southwest," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935- ), II (1936), 439-52.

<sup>86</sup> Mary B. Putnam, *The Baptists and Slavery, 1840-1845* (Ann Arbor, 1913), 13.

<sup>87</sup> Philadelphia *Christian Index*, July 5, 12, 1844; David Benedict, *Fifty Years Among the Baptists* (New York, 1860), 172-76.

<sup>88</sup> Nashville, *Baptist Banner*, March 11, 1841. For a similar resolution adopted by the Liberty Baptist Association, see William C. Bledsoe, *History of the Liberty (East) Baptist Association of Alabama* (Atlanta, 1886), 33. After being a disturbing factor for thirty years, slavery disrupted the great church in 1845. Jeremiah B. Jeter, *The Recollections of a Long Life* (Richmond, 1891), 229-37; Putnam, *Baptists and Slavery*, 72-92.

urged—not always because of the whites' interest in his spiritual welfare, but often because of their fear that the impious servant would "exert a bad influence" on their children.<sup>39</sup> Hostility of whites against blacks was seldom found among the early Baptists. White persons were converted by Negro preachers, and a few Negroes in the South were pastors of Baptist churches for whites.<sup>40</sup> The most striking example of harmony between the races was the election of the mulatto Joseph Willis as the first moderator of the Louisiana Association.<sup>41</sup>

At first the Negroes were permitted to worship with the whites, but later they were assigned another hour for services, usually in the afternoon. This led in many cases to separate churches with white ministers, who agreed with the slaveholders that it was wise to keep the Negroes under their care.<sup>42</sup> In reply to a letter from a Negro Baptist church, the Mississippi Baptist Association urged the members "to use their utmost diligence in obeying their masters," especially in securing permission to assemble.<sup>43</sup>

Despite opposition by the anti-missionary Baptists,<sup>44</sup> the effort to establish missions was reasonably successful by the 1820's. As early as 1815 the Mississippi Association sent twenty dollars to the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions.<sup>45</sup> Two years later the Mississippi Society for Baptist Missions, Foreign and Domestic, was organized. Its chief aim was to aid Indians in Mississippi and Louisiana.<sup>46</sup> In 1818 the Mississippi Association passed a resolution that sermons should be preached yearly in the churches for the support of missions.<sup>47</sup> By 1822 the Missionary Society had raised nearly \$2,400.<sup>48</sup> One dollar a day,

<sup>39</sup> Nashville *Baptist Banner*, March 19, April 16, 1840.

<sup>40</sup> Brooks, "Negro Baptist Church," in *loc. cit.*, 11. For an example of a Negro preacher of a white congregation in Virginia, see Robert B. Semple, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia* (Richmond, 1894), 170.

<sup>41</sup> Benedict, *Baptist Denomination*, 778-79; Christian, *Baptists in Louisiana*, 50-53.

<sup>42</sup> Brooks, "Negro Baptist Church," in *loc. cit.*, 13-15.

<sup>43</sup> *Minutes of the Mississippi Association*, 42.

<sup>44</sup> Smith, *Baptists in the Western States*, 122-33.

<sup>45</sup> Zachary T. Leavell and Thomas J. Bailey, *A Complete History of Mississippi Baptists from the Earliest Times*, 2 vols. (Jackson, 1904), I, 44.

<sup>46</sup> Boyd, *Baptists in Mississippi*, 36-37.

<sup>47</sup> Leavell and Bailey, *Mississippi Baptists*, I, 47.

<sup>48</sup> *The Latter Day Luminary* (Philadelphia, 1818-1825), III (1822), 345.

exclusive of traveling expenses, was allotted to its missionaries by the Alabama Baptist Convention in 1823.<sup>49</sup> In 1827 the convention resolved that in order to "avoid evil surmises," each missionary should be "required to make a return of all personal favors received by him" while employed by the association.<sup>50</sup> In some counties of Alabama in the early 1830's few preachers would dare talk about foreign missions, and still fewer would take up a collection for the purpose.<sup>51</sup> Progress in mission work, however, became so steady that it seemed expedient in 1836 to appoint four missionaries for the year at a salary of \$425 for the unmarried and \$600 for a man of family.<sup>52</sup>

As a means of conversion, the camp meetings failed to appeal to the Baptists<sup>53</sup> as they had to the Methodists; yet a mild enthusiasm for the protracted meeting carried it throughout the Southwest. The first Baptist camp meeting in Alabama is generally accepted as one held in the central part of the state for five or six days during October, 1831. "Here the Lord made bare his arm," a participant wrote, "and displayed his power in the salvation of many precious souls. The groans and cries of repenting sinners, the songs and prayers, the shouts and praises of Christians, formed an awful, yet delightful harmony."<sup>54</sup> In 1843 at a point called Pine Flat, fifteen miles from Marion, Alabama, five preachers conducted a successful meeting. At its close "forty-two were laid beneath the waters of the Cahawba," while twenty-three "were on the anxious seats when the meeting closed."<sup>55</sup> A correspondent in Mississippi wrote of a large camp ground where "some twenty comfortable houses are put up in neat order around a square, with a large arbor to preach under in the centre: these houses will be occupied during the meeting by families who carry provisions and bedding suf-

<sup>49</sup> *Constitution of the Baptist State Convention in Alabama* (Mobile, 1823), 4.

<sup>50</sup> *Fourth Anniversary of the Baptist State Convention in Alabama* (Montgomery, 1827), 5.

<sup>51</sup> Eldred B. Teague, *An Outline Picture of the Baptist Denomination in Alabama* (MS., Baptist Theological Seminary Library, Louisville), 57.

<sup>52</sup> *Minutes of the Thirteenth Anniversary of the Alabama Baptist State Convention* (Tuscaloosa, 1836), 13.

<sup>53</sup> James Ross, *Life and Times of Elder Reuben Ross* (Philadelphia, n.d.), 244.

<sup>54</sup> Holcombe, *Baptists in Alabama*, 45.

<sup>55</sup> *Louisville Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer*, September 28, 1843.

ficient to accommodate all the people attending the meeting."<sup>56</sup> In a report of a meeting at Minter's Camp Grove, Texas, the preacher boastingly wrote: "Among those baptized were two commission merchants of New Orleans; and I anticipate baptizing a third next Sabbath."<sup>57</sup>

Although many in the Baptist Church had formerly opposed Sunday schools, in 1835 the corresponding secretary for the Alabama Baptist Convention reported that "Sunday Schools are springing up in almost every neighborhood, giving innocent and useful exercise to the idle and wicked, instruction to the busy, and pouring a stream of good, into the habitation of poverty, of vice, and of ignorance, not easy to estimate."<sup>58</sup> By this period Sunday schools had made considerable headway in Mississippi, although literature was difficult to get.<sup>59</sup>

As the frontier became more literate and cultured, the Baptist Church moved to cope with the need of education through a more learned clergy and through the establishment of schools. Among the interesting educational attempts was the Manual Labor School opened in Greensboro, Alabama, in January, 1836. After an existence of a year, its closing was caused by the Panic of 1837 and by trouble within the school.<sup>60</sup> In 1836 the Mississippi Baptists opened Judson Institute in Hinds County, about ten miles northwest of Jackson. Suffering many vicissitudes, the life of the institute was brief.<sup>61</sup> As early as 1839 a college in Alabama bore the name of Judson. Throughout the three states under consideration the Baptists established in later years academies and colleges<sup>62</sup> that further elevated the general tone of the region.

<sup>56</sup> Benedict, *Baptist Denomination*, 777-78. See, also, Wetumpka *Alabama Baptist*, May 11, 24, 1844.

<sup>57</sup> Louisville *Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer*, September 25, 1841.

<sup>58</sup> *Minutes of the Twelfth [sic] Anniversary of the Alabama Baptist Convention* (Greensborough, Ala., 1835), 3-4.

<sup>59</sup> Leavell and Bailey, *Mississippi Baptists*, II, 1465.

<sup>60</sup> Mitchell B. Garrett, *Sixty Years of Howard College, 1842-1902* (*Howard College Bulletin*, LXXXV, 1927), 7-18; *Minutes of the Eleventh Anniversary of the Baptist State Convention in Alabama* (Tuscaloosa, 1834), 5-7, 14; Riley, *Baptists of Alabama*, 59-68.

<sup>61</sup> Boyd, *Baptists in Mississippi*, 104.

<sup>62</sup> Mississippi College and Howard College are examples of later Baptist educational endeavor. See William H. Weathersby, "A History of Mississippi College," in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society* (Centenary Series, Jackson, 1916-1925), V (1925), 184-220; Garrett, *Howard College*; Riley, *Baptists of Alabama*, chap. III.

In some sections local conditions made the establishment of a Baptist church quite difficult. In Mobile, no Baptist church was organized until March, 1835. Although a plain brick building forty-six by eighty feet was built in the late 1830's, the church was without a pastor for several years.<sup>63</sup> After ten years of existence the church had 360 members.<sup>64</sup> In New Orleans the Protestants usually blamed the Catholics and the foreign population for their failure. On the other hand, the Catholic Bishop of Louisiana believed that the irreligious American settling in New Orleans was largely responsible for the moral degradation.<sup>65</sup> In 1815 Rev. Samuel J. Mills reported to his sponsor, the Massachusetts Bible Society, that in Louisiana he found American families who had never seen a Bible and that a copy in any language could not be found in New Orleans for sale or for free distribution.<sup>66</sup> After an expiration of nearly thirty years conditions were only slightly changed, and there is little evidence that the entire Mississippi Valley contained a Baptist book store.<sup>67</sup> Plain preaching was not attractive in New Orleans. It was necessary to use "popular lectures of a literary, scientific, historical or prophetic character, interspersed with religious considerations, and appeals to the conscience" in order to insure a "crowded congregation of intelligent young gentlemen and ladies."<sup>68</sup>

In 1844 the *Alabama Baptist* urged every Baptist church in the United States to designate the first Sunday in August as a day for collecting money with which to build a church in New Orleans.<sup>69</sup> As a result of such appeals the sum of seven thousand dollars was collected by 1847 and applied on a desirable lot. A temporary building was immediately erected.<sup>70</sup> On the other hand, conditions were quite different in other sections of the South. In 1844 a traveler to Montgomery reported that he visited the Baptist Church where he found the building pleasant and

<sup>63</sup> Holcombe, *Baptists in Alabama*, 300.

<sup>64</sup> Rufus Babcock, "Sketches of a Southwestern Tour," in *Baptist Memorial* (New York, 1842-1856), IV (1845), 117-18.

<sup>65</sup> Whitaker, *Mississippi Question*, 151.

<sup>66</sup> Gardiner Spring, *Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel J. Mills* (New York, 1820), 73.

<sup>67</sup> Wetumpka *Alabama Baptist*, June 1, 1844.

<sup>68</sup> Nashville *Baptist Banner*, March 24, 1842.

<sup>69</sup> Wetumpka *Alabama Baptist*, June 8, 1844.

<sup>70</sup> Benedict, *Baptist Denomination*, 781.



inviting, the pastor a graduate of Hamilton Institute, and the audience large. Moving on to Marion, Alabama, the traveler found Judson Female Institute "a noble, extensive brick edifice," whose property was valued at thirty to forty thousand dollars; it was an institution in which the poor would be gratuitously aided in securing an education. At Vicksburg, Mississippi, the same visitor was delighted with the little Baptist church composed of thirty whites and twice as many blacks. He was convinced that the Baptist Church had participated in improving conditions in a region "where a few years since so frequently were witnessed deeds of lawless violence and blood, and where even of late, duels and deadly encounters in the streets are not sufficiently rare."<sup>71</sup>

A compilation of Baptist statistics, made in 1848, revealed that Mississippi had 458 churches, 241 ministers, and 24,447 members; Alabama had 710 churches, 301 ministers, and 41,779 members; Louisiana had 88 churches, 59 ministers, and 3,609 members—a grand total for the territory under consideration of 1,256 churches, 601 ministers, and 69,835 members.<sup>72</sup> Very successful years lay immediately ahead. From a meager beginning at Natchez, the Baptists had made headway against tremendous odds in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama. While lacking the highly organized administration of the Methodists and the educated clergy of the Presbyterians, the Baptists, nevertheless, had characteristics that appealed to the frontiersmen. Their success was attributed largely to a combination of democratic ideals and free church ideas, a clergy chiefly recruited from the financially successful laymen, a flexible church administration, an attractive Calvinistic faith, and an aggressive ardor in securing new converts.

<sup>71</sup> Rufus Babcock, "Sketches of a Southern Tour," in *Baptist Memorial*, III (1844), 49, 53; IV (1845), 85.

<sup>72</sup> Benedict, *Baptist Denomination*, 952-54. As a rule these reports were made in 1846-1847. In a few instances, however, earlier reports were all that could be found.

# The Public Domain in Territorial Florida

BY SIDNEY WALTER MARTIN

When Spain delivered Florida to the United States in 1821, one of the most perplexing problems which faced the federal government was the settlement of the land question in the newly acquired territory. Large areas of land in Florida had been granted to individual Spanish subjects by their King before the transfer of the territory to the United States; therefore those claimants who held legal title to their lands, granted before January 24, 1818, were allowed to hold possession of their property. Luis de Onís, who represented the Spanish government in the negotiating of the treaty of cession, contended that all grants made by the Spanish King up to the writing of the treaty should be valid, while John Quincy Adams, the American Secretary of State, contended that no grants made after 1802 should be held valid. After much discussion the compromise date of January 24, 1818, was agreed upon by the two negotiators.<sup>1</sup>

A person claiming lands granted before the above-mentioned date was required to file his claim with a specially appointed board of commissioners either in St. Augustine or Pensacola. The Pensacola board was organized and ready for work by July 13, 1822,<sup>2</sup> but the St. Augustine commission did not begin to operate until April, 1823.<sup>3</sup> The claims which poured into both offices set forth the location, boundaries, and the description of the land's title as clearly as possible. Other in-

<sup>1</sup> Hunter Miller (ed), *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*, 7 vols. to date (Washington, 1931- ), III, 50-51. A good account is also found in French E. Chadwick, *The Relations of the United States and Spain, Diplomacy* (New York, 1909), 139.

<sup>2</sup> *Pensacola Floridian*, July 20, 1822.

<sup>3</sup> *St. Augustine East Florida Herald*, May 3, 1823.

formation required was the exact number of acres of the claim, by whom and when it was granted, and whether the tract was an original grant or part of such. If any official document concerning the claim could be obtained from the office of the secretary of the Spanish territory, it had to be presented to the commissioners with testimonials that the grantee was living on his land when the cession of Florida was made to the United States.<sup>4</sup> Witnesses and interested persons were often brought before the commissioners to help in determining the accuracy of the grants.<sup>5</sup>

Congress had hoped that the work of the commissioners might be finished within two or three years, so that the private lands could be distinguished from the public lands and sale of the latter might begin. But it was not until 1827 that the work was virtually completed and the two boards were abolished. The abolition of the boards did not mean, however, that no more claims would be received. Certain registers and receivers of the public land offices in St. Augustine and Tallahassee were authorized to receive claims and make necessary settlements.<sup>6</sup>

Before all the private land claims had been surveyed and settled, the federal government took steps to put on sale some of the land which was not claimed by individuals. American settlers began to stream into Florida as soon as the change of flags took place, and many bought land from Spanish holders, but most of them became squatters on the public domain.

Robert Butler was appointed to the post of surveyor-general of Florida in the spring of 1824, and proceeded at once to the territory to supervise the surveys of all public lands as well as private claims.<sup>7</sup> The office of the surveyor-general was located in Tallahassee throughout most of the territorial period, for it was in this newly settled section of Florida that most of the public lands lay. Butler's first report to George Graham, the Commissioner of the Land Office in Washington,

<sup>4</sup> *American State Papers, Public Lands*, 8 vols. (Washington, 1832-1861), II, 654.

<sup>5</sup> Minutes of Board of Land Commissioners, 1825-1826, District of East Florida, St. Augustine, March 28, 1825, in Interior Department Papers (The National Archives).

<sup>6</sup> *Washington National Intelligencer*, March 8, 1827.

<sup>7</sup> Mary Lamar Davis, "Robert Butler—An American Pioneer," in *Tallahassee Historical Society Annual* (Mimeographed annually, Tallahassee), 1939, pp. 60-61.

was dated December 17, 1824, and stated that the work was under way.<sup>8</sup>

The land was surveyed in sections, townships, and ranges. Each section contained one square mile or six hundred and forty acres. Thirty-six sections composed a township, and any series of townships situated north and south of each other constituted a range, while such a series situated in an east and west direction constituted a tier. The ranges ran the length of the territory, north and south; those in East Florida, therefore, contained much more land than those in West Florida, since the Gulf of Mexico reduces the western portion to only a narrow strip of land. The ranges were numbered east and west from Tallahassee. Butler proposed to complete within one year the survey of about one hundred and thirty townships of land in the vicinity, both east and west of Tallahassee.<sup>9</sup> He did not take into account the many difficulties of getting started in the Florida undertaking, however, and ran considerably behind schedule with the work.

The office which Robert Butler held was an important one, because the early development of the territory depended largely upon the manner in which the land was sold, and the sale of land in turn depended upon the surveyors. The surveys took time and energy. From time to time Butler contracted with surveyors for work in the field. Butler himself spent very little time in the field; hence it was necessary that he secure men who were thoroughly competent to do the work. When a surveyor was employed for a piece of work he was obliged to finish it in a given length of time. Surveyors were paid by the mile surveyed, and usually worked in groups. For example, Henry Washington, Thomas Brown, and Robert C. Allen contracted with Butler for the survey of seven hundred miles of land in East Florida. The agreement specified that the work was to be done within six months after the contract was signed, October 3, 1832; the surveyors were to receive four dollars per mile.<sup>10</sup> Other large contracts let by Butler were as follows:

<sup>8</sup> Robert Butler to George Graham, December 17, 1824, in General Land Office Records, Interior Department Papers (The National Archives).

<sup>9</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, August 5, 1824, *ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Butler to Elijah Hayward, October 3, 1832, *ibid.*

Paul McCormack for seven hundred miles; David Thomas for seven hundred miles; Frederick Ming for six hundred miles; and I. B. Clements for seven hundred miles.<sup>11</sup> Throughout the territorial period there were dozens of surveyors working in the field, the most highly regarded for his ability being Henry Washington.<sup>12</sup>

The surveys were delayed by various factors. The first perplexity came from finances, although Congress was usually generous in its appropriations for this purpose. It was sometimes difficult to get the money on time from the federal authorities in Washington, but to say the least, the office in Tallahassee was an expensive endeavor. Butler's estimate for surveys and salaries for the year 1826, made on December 29, 1825, was as follows:

Surveying of lands during the year in East and West Florida, including 370 townships, Indian boundaries, and a few private claims which may come within the contemplated area . . . . .	\$43,280.00
Salary of surveyor general . . . . .	2,000.00
Salaries of clerks at \$1,000 each . . . . .	2,000.00
Office expenses for the year . . . . .	500.00
Total	<hr/> \$47,780.00 <sup>13</sup>

The cost was increasing year by year. Salaries had to be added for extra clerks, draftsmen, and calculators, to say nothing of the increase in personnel of the surveyors in the field.

Bad weather, the hot Florida climate, and yellow fever slowed down the work in some sections of the territory. At first it was generally considered that no surveying could be done during the summer months, especially in the swampy areas, but many attempts were made to work the year round. In 1827 the survey in West Florida had to be suspended entirely on account of a yellow fever epidemic. Many of the surveyors suffered from the disease, and several men working as helpers died in Escambia County.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, March 9, 1833, *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, October 3, 1832, *ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Butler to Graham, December 29, 1825, *ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, October 3, 1827, *ibid.*

Indian depredations and the Seminole War did more to hamper the work of the surveyors than any other one thing. The Indians often scalped members of surveying parties in the sparsely populated sections, or frightened them away, in an effort to stop the work. In 1827 Butler suspended all survey work because of the risk in putting workers in the field.<sup>15</sup>

The records of the surveyor general's office were of vital importance, and it was expedient that they be kept in the greatest safety. Agitation was begun in 1837 for the construction of a new fireproof building in which to house these records, since the office in Tallahassee was nothing but a makeshift affair. But Congress refused to appropriate the necessary \$6,800.00 which was asked to erect and equip a building.<sup>16</sup>

On October 6, 1843, President John Tyler ordered that the land office be moved from Tallahassee to St. Augustine, and an executive order was sent to V. Y. Conway, who had succeeded Butler, to make preparations for moving. St. Augustine was now nearer the center of surveying operations than Tallahassee. Conway was ordered to secure suitable accommodations for all the office records, archives, and equipment.<sup>17</sup> Work continued from the new office in St. Augustine without interruption, and by the end of the territorial period a great portion of Central Florida had been surveyed. Much of the East coast region was also surveyed, but it was not until after the territorial period that development came to that section south and east of a line drawn from Tampa Bay to St. Augustine.

The Commissioner of the General Land Office in Washington directed the operations in Florida as well as in the local offices throughout the other territories. George Graham served in this capacity until 1830, when he was succeeded by Elijah Hayward. Both men were very efficient, and their correspondence with Butler was long and tedious. Detailed reports, as well as copies of all the plats of the land which had been surveyed, were sent to the Commissioner at the end of each three months period, and it was not uncommon for Graham to return

<sup>15</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, January 15, 1827, *ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Hayward to Butler, February 7, 1838, *ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Hayward to V. Y. Conway, October 10, 1843, *ibid.*

Butler's reports for corrections. In April, 1828, for example, he wrote that "the township plats and field notes which were received with your letter of the 25 ulto. are hereby returned in consequence of error and imperfection, some of which are herein pointed out."<sup>18</sup> In another instance, in 1825, Butler had been similarly criticized for the form of his contracts. Graham wrote:

Contracts for 1826 surveys should be made conditional, that is, money should not be stipulated to be paid until Congress shall have made an appropriation for the object. Contracts are returned that they may be altered in that respect. The amount of each contract is a little too much. It is necessary that the contract should specify the particular township, section, and lines that the contractor is to survey, and that no contract should be entered into with any one individual for a greater quantity of surveying than he can personally attend to and execute within one year.<sup>19</sup>

Hayward was even more insistent upon promptness, accuracy, and efficiency in the surveyor general's office than was Graham. He criticized the work of some of the surveyors, and served notice on them all that they must be more careful in the future. This step was taken, he explained, because he believed the surveyors had not lived up to their contracts. He told them that "the government preferred delay to shoddy work."<sup>20</sup>

Other phases of the territorial land problems were handled by the local land offices, the first of which was established in Tallahassee early in 1825. This office was designed to handle the disposition of lands in West and Central Florida. The local land office was headed by two officers, the register and the receiver. The register had charge of the entry of all lands, and the making ready of any land sale within his district. All land was sold for cash and was disposed of in as small as half-quarter sections of eighty acres. The actual purchase was made from the receiver, who took care of all the purchase money and issued duplicate receipts. One receipt was retained by the purchaser as evidence of his purchase until a patent could be received, while the other was given to the register after the patent had been received. The re-

<sup>18</sup> Graham to Butler, April 17, 1828, *ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, October 7, 1825, *ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Hayward to Butler, April 18, 1833, *ibid.*

ceipts were entered on the register's book, and at the end of each month all receipts were forwarded to the Commissioner of the General Land Office in Washington, together with the abstracts of the sales during the same period. A journal of sales was also kept in the office of the register and the receiver, along with a map, so that any one who was interested might see exactly what had not been sold.<sup>21</sup>

Richard Keith Call was made receiver of the Tallahassee land office, and George W. Ward became the first register.<sup>22</sup> Both were appointed for a four-year term, and were required to make bond of \$40,000.00. Robert Hackley succeeded Ward and M. I. Allen succeeded Call in 1835; Henry Washington succeeded Hackley in 1838.<sup>23</sup> The Tallahassee office was formally opened in 1826. At that time quarter-sections became available to settlers for one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre.

A second land office was established at St. Augustine on July 1, 1826, for the purpose of serving East Florida. William H. Allen was appointed receiver, and Charles Downing was made register. W. H. Simmons and J. C. Cleland succeeded Downing and Allen in 1837. Simmons held office throughout the remainder of the territorial period, but George W. Cole took over the duties of Cleland in 1840.<sup>24</sup>

By 1840 there was increasing demand for the creation of another land office, preferably in Central Florida, since the two already established were located two hundred and fifty miles apart in East and West Florida. Furthermore, the demand for land in Central Florida was increasing. A settler in Alachua County or Columbia County had to make a journey of about two hundred miles, and at expense sometimes of about half the price of the land, in order to enter his lands. In 1840 the citizens of Newnansville petitioned Congress to establish a land office in that town.<sup>25</sup>

After considerable delay, Congress passed a law on September 5,

<sup>21</sup> Graham to Butler, February 13, 1825, *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Graham to George W. Ward and Richard K. Call, February 28, 1825, *ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Hayward to Robert Hackley and M. I. Allen, October 8, 1838, *ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Graham to Butler, July 1, 1826, *ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Petition to Congress, April, 1840, House of Representatives Files (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).



1842, creating the Alachua land district. Sam Russell and John Parsons, were appointed register and receiver respectively, and were instructed to go immediately to St. Augustine to learn the duties of their office from the register and the receiver of that place. They also received instructions direct from the Commissioner of the General Land Office.<sup>26</sup>

The new land district included all of the territory "east of the Suwanee River and west of the line dividing ranges twenty-four and twenty-five, except that lying east of the St. Mary's River, north of the basis parallel."<sup>27</sup> Newnansville was favorably located for a land office. Very little land in that area had been sold, but hundreds of people were beginning to settle in the region.<sup>28</sup>

Public land sales, which were held at the different land offices, were largely attended by the territorial frontiersmen. These sales were supervised by the register and the receiver of the land office, upon instructions from the Commissioner of the General Land Office in Washington. A forthcoming sale was given much publicity in the columns of the several territorial newspapers, and generally it was anticipated with a great deal of excitement. The President of the United States proclaimed the day upon which a sale was to be held. With the exception of the sale announced for May, 1839, all Tallahassee sales were held as scheduled.<sup>29</sup> The St. Augustine land office had very few public sales,

<sup>26</sup> Thomas H. Blake to Sam Russell and John Parsons, September 17, 1843, General Land Office Records.

<sup>27</sup> *Statutes at Large*, 27 Cong., 2 Sess., 567.

<sup>28</sup> Conway to Blake, January 4, 1843, General Land Office Records.

<sup>29</sup> The dates of the land sales at Tallahassee were as follows:

Date of Proclamation	Date of Sale
January 26, 1825.....	3rd Monday in May, 1825
May 24, 1826.....	3rd Monday in January, 1827
January 10, 1827.....	3rd Monday in May, 1827
May 28, 1827.....	3rd Monday in December, 1827
October 4, 1828.....	3rd Monday in January, 1829
February 24, 1829.....	3rd Monday in May, 1829
April 4, 1829.....	3rd Monday in July, 1829
October 5, 1829.....	1st Monday in February, 1830
June 5, 1830.....	1st Monday in October, 1830
March 25, 1831.....	1st Monday in July, 1831
July 7, 1834.....	1st Monday in December, 1834
November 21, 1834.....	1st Monday in January, 1835
June 8, 1843.....	1st Monday in October, 1843

(Continued next page)

though one was proclaimed as early as May, 1828. It was postponed from time to time, and finally held on March 4, 1839.<sup>30</sup> The postponement of some of these sales was probably due to the Indians, and their interference with the gathering of crowds, but in general, the demand for land in East Florida was not so great as it was in the rich farming section of Middle Florida. It is possible, also, that the existence of a large number of private land claims in East Florida helped to account for the relatively small amount of land sold in that district.

The Newnansville land office conducted only one publicly announced sale during the territorial period. It was held on December 16, 1844, under the proclamation of June 24, 1844. This office, however, became the most important land office in Florida after 1845.<sup>31</sup>

The land sales often lasted for several weeks. A certain number of townships would be offered for sale, and would remain on the market until sold, no matter how long after the actual sale date. This meant that land was on sale virtually all the time at the various land offices after the first sale. But the age-old maxim of "first come, first served" was invoked, and most of the best and richest lots were sold very early.<sup>32</sup>

In Middle Florida, land was at a premium from the time of the first sale in 1825. The attractiveness of the farming lands, and the location of the capitol at Tallahassee brought a rapid stream of newcomers into that area. By 1830, a total of 336,576.50 acres of land had

(Footnote 29 Concluded)

The St. Augustine sales were as follows:

Date of Proclamation	Date of Sale
February 15, 1828.....	2nd Monday in May, 1828
March 25, 1831.....	4th Monday in July, 1831
July 7, 1834.....	2nd Monday in December, 1834
October 13, 1835.....	March 7, 1836
July 7, 1838.....	November 5, 1838
October 11, 1838.....	December 3, 1838
December 5, 1838.....	March 4, 1839
March 8, 1839.....	June 10, 1839

Taken from a list of Presidential Proclamations pertaining to Territorial Florida, General Land Office Records.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Tallahassee *Star of Florida*, July 6, 1843.

been sold in Middle Florida by the public land office, whereas none had actually been sold at St. Augustine.<sup>33</sup> In the same year Middle Florida claimed 15,779 people, of whom 7,587 were slaves. East Florida had only 8,953 inhabitants, 4,095 being slaves. In West Florida, with Pensacola as the chief city, where there was no land for public sale, the census showed 9,478 people, of whom 3,753 were slaves.<sup>34</sup>

The planters from the southern states continued to migrate into Middle Florida, the 1840 census showing a population there of 34,238, of whom 19,382 were slaves. The inhabitants of East Florida numbered 13,651, including 4,622 slaves; West Florida could claim only 5,454, including 1,587 slaves.<sup>35</sup> The amount of land sold in Middle Florida throughout the territorial period amounted to 796,891.81 acres, as compared with 70,155.04 acres sold at the St. Augustine office and 5,458.78 acres at the Newnansville office. The St. Augustine district contained 16,369,587 acres, whereas the Tallahassee district was made up of 9,391,188 acres and the Newnansville district, 2,662,279 acres.<sup>36</sup> The average price per acre of all land sold in Florida during this period was one dollar and twenty-nine cents.<sup>37</sup>

The United States land policy for the territory of Florida was a liberal one. Since sales were held frequently, choice lands were offered, and the price was low. These liberal terms served as an inducement to prospective settlers, but the Seminole Indian War kept many immigrants away for a number of years. The Treaty of 1819 confirmed the rights of Floridians holding land, and also granted to each settler six hundred acres in fee simple. Later, pre-emption rights were given for a limited amount of land and before many years had passed the Floridians joined the agitation for an outright pre-emption law.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *American State Papers, Public Lands*, VI, 198.

<sup>34</sup> *The Fifth Census of the United States, 1830* (Washington, 1832), 156.

<sup>35</sup> *The Sixth Census of the United States, 1840* (Washington, 1841), 97.

<sup>36</sup> Blake to David Levy, June 22, 1844, General Land Office Records.

<sup>37</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, December 18, 1844, *ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Caroline M. Brevard, *History of Florida from the Treaty of 1763 to Our Own Times*, 2 vols. (DeLand, Florida, 1924), II, 94.

<sup>39</sup> *Congressional Debates*, 19 Cong., 1 Sess., 10.

A bill giving pre-emption rights to Floridians, passed by the Congress and approved by the President in 1826, provided:

That every person, or legal representative of any person, who, being either the head of a family, or twenty-one years of age, did, on or before the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five, actually inhabit and cultivate a tract of land situated in the Territory of Florida, and who shall not have removed from the said Territory, shall be entitled to the act of pre-emption, in the purchase thereof. . . . Provided, that no person shall be entitled to the provisions of this section, who claims any tract of land in said Territory, by virtue of a confirmation of the Commissioners, or by virtue of any act of Congress. . . .<sup>39</sup>

The law was enthusiastically received by the squatters, who had hoped for such sanction by Congress. Soon after the bill's passage the *Pensacola Gazette* declared that "The pre-emption bill has become a law—next to the grand canal this was the most important act for Florida. It is the salvation of much of the present population."<sup>40</sup>

The settlement of the pre-emption claims was handled through the General Land Office in Washington, and thence transmitted to the local land offices in Tallahassee and St. Augustine. The claimant applied for an entry of lands at the nearest office, and at the same time was required to pay for his land in cash at one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre. The evidence in these cases was a written affidavit, sworn to and duly certified. All pre-emption lands had to be located in a legal section, or fractional section of a township. No head of a family could obtain more than one pre-emption. The registers and the receivers of the local land offices were instructed to be careful not to allow grown sons of settlers to obtain pre-emptions if their fathers had done so.<sup>41</sup>

The pre-emption claims were recognized at the public land sales in the territory. The squatters usually waited, however, until their lands were in danger of being sold before they actually put in claims for pre-emption. The following announcement, signed by John M. Moore, acting Commissioner of the General Land Office, is typical of those accompanying the proclamations of public land sales:

<sup>40</sup> *Pensacola Gazette*, May 6, 1826.

<sup>41</sup> Graham to Registers and Receivers, July 13, 1826, General Land Office Records.

Every person claiming the right of pre-emption to any of the lands designated in the above proclamation (for the sale of public lands) is requested to prove same to satisfaction of the Register and Receiver of the proper land office, and make payment therefor as soon as practicable after seeing this notice, in order that the claim may be adjudicated, by those officers agreeably to law, in due time, prior to the day appointed for the commencement of the public sale, and all claims not duly made known and paid for prior to the date aforesaid, are declared by law to be forfeited.<sup>42</sup>

In 1840 an Armed Occupation Bill for Florida was introduced in Congress. It was intended to encourage settlers to penetrate the dangerous Indian zones of the territory through grants from the federal government. Congress was greatly disturbed by the long duration of hostilities with the Seminoles and there was much sentiment against the bill.<sup>43</sup> In the Senate, the feeling prevailed that there was need for soldiers rather than settlers on the Indian battle fields, but Thomas Hart Benton, the Westerner who introduced the bill, fought for it until it became law. His desire was to see ten thousand settlers making their way into Florida at the expense of the government, all armed with the usual supplies of a regular soldier and seeds necessary to raise crops. Benton contended that individual strongholds and firm occupation of the land in the region where the Indians were giving most trouble would aid greatly in subduing the red men. The *St. Augustine Florida Herald*, supporting the measure, said:

Mr. Benton's bill proposes to do so much that meets with our wishes, that we heartily support it and hope other well wishers will support it. Unless some such system is adopted, millions will be spent for benefit of a few. . . . We desire to see this bill become a law. It proposes a new system that is of great importance to the country. Let adventurers take the soil or it falls to the savages or may be haunt of a worse and more dangerous enemy.<sup>44</sup>

The bill became law on August 4, 1842. It was entitled "An act for the armed occupation and settlement of the unsettled part of the Peninsula of East Florida," and it provided that

any person, being the head of a family, or over eighteen years of age, able to bear arms, who has made or shall, within one year from and after the passage

<sup>42</sup> Presidential Proclamations pertaining to Territorial Florida, *ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Washington *National Intelligencer*, January 9, 1840.

<sup>44</sup> *St. Augustine Florida Herald*, February 27, 1840.

of this act, make an actual settlement within that part of Florida situated and being south of the line dividing townships numbers nine and ten, south and east of the base line, shall be entitled to one quarter section of said land. . . .<sup>45</sup>

The land was granted under the following conditions: (1) all persons desiring to settle must obtain a permit from the register and the receiver in one of the local land offices; (2) each settler must reside on his land for a period of five years; (3) the settler must erect a house on the land, and cultivate at least five acres of land; (4) settlement must take place within one year after the grants had been made. The law also provided that if a man died before the five-year period expired, his land went to his widow or his heirs at law. Not more than 200,000 acres of land was to be taken for settlement under this act. The President reserved the right to suspend the rights of this act on three months' notice.<sup>46</sup>

The law was highly pleasing to East Florida. It was East rather than West Florida that suffered most from the Indians; hence East Florida stood to benefit from the act more than West Florida. David Levy, territorial delegate in Congress, was bitterly criticized by the *St. Augustine News* because he had not given the bill his full support. The *News* declared that Levy "was so busy endeavoring to get Florida admitted as a state that he could not spare time to superintend the armed occupation bill, and to have it properly reported to the house."<sup>47</sup> Incidentally, many of the inhabitants of East Florida were opposed to Florida's being admitted into the Union at that time.

The armed occupation law gave only one year's time in which the lands might be claimed under its provisions. People from the southern states, particularly Georgia, immediately began to move in, and in the spring of 1843 there was noticeable influx of strangers. Most of them settled in sections along the Indian River, St. Lucia, and Lake Worth. The lands farther south were claimed by men who were willing to risk Indian dangers to get a start on the highly-praised Florida lands.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *Statutes at Large*, 27 Cong., 2 Sess., 502.

<sup>46</sup> Hayward to Registers and Receivers, August 25, 1842, General Land Office Records.

<sup>47</sup> *St. Augustine News*, August 6, 1842.

<sup>48</sup> *Washington National Intelligencer*, April 8, 1843.

About one thousand permits were granted in a year's time from the two offices—St. Augustine and Newnansville; and Newnansville soon granted an additional six hundred. The grants were one hundred and sixty acres each, and the allotted 200,000 acres were almost all taken up.<sup>49</sup>

The armed occupation act rapidly promoted Florida's development. With the settlers came their wives, their families, and their slaves; and many large landholdings date from this time. Another immediate effect was the suppression of Indian depredations and hostilities which had for so many years retarded the settlement and development of that part of the territory.<sup>50</sup> The opening up of this region under the armed occupation act, plus the lands settled by pre-emption claims, the sale of lands by the three land offices, and the validation of the Spanish land grants meant that practically the whole of the inhabitable portions of the territory were settled by 1845. Most of the area, however, was still sparsely settled, but as far as the public domain was concerned the territory had been made ready for statehood.

<sup>49</sup> *St. Augustine News*, August 5, 1843.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, June 10, 1843.

# Financing and Marketing the Sugar Crop of the Old South

BY J. CARLYLE SITTERSON

Of all phases of southern history, upon few has the historian focused more attention than upon the ante-bellum plantation. In spite of this emphasis, however, it is striking to note the scarcity of material on the commercial aspects of the plantation regime. About the cotton, tobacco, rice, and sugar plantations we know much; about the financing and marketing of these products we know relatively little. This amazing paucity of information becomes even more striking when one stops to consider that financing and marketing are of primary importance to commercialized staple-crop agriculture.

Credit, it is generally conceded, is the mainspring of staple-crop agriculture. In no instance was this more clearly demonstrated than in the case of sugar. The ante-bellum sugar industry, centering in Louisiana, was characterized by several factors that made adequate capital essential. In the first place, sugar culture unlike the other southern staples was both agriculture and industry. The cane was crushed and the juice manufactured into raw sugar on the plantation. This process required the use of expensive machinery, in addition to the usual capital outlay for land and slaves. And with improvements occurring in the technique of sugar production from 1845 to 1860, new and more up-to-date equipment was often desirable. Moreover, the rapid expansion of the Louisiana sugar industry during those years required large amounts of capital and extensive credit.

The uncertainties that make all staple-crop agriculture to a large degree speculative are well known. Exceptional is the Southerner who



has not felt directly or indirectly the speculative character of cotton culture. Yet, of all ante-bellum staples the culture of sugar was attended by the greatest number of uncertainties. Adverse weather conditions were largely responsible for the wide fluctuations in the annual output, which ranged from 100,000 to 240,000 hogsheads in the decade 1842-1851 and from 74,000 to 460,000 in the decade 1852-1861.<sup>1</sup> To make matters worse the gyrations in prices rivalled those of the cotton market. The remark of one Louisiana planter in 1854 that "dealing with sugar here is like playing with edge tools" is not without significance.<sup>2</sup>

During the early nineteenth century the chief source of capital was the Louisiana banks. Until 1837 New Orleans banks readily extended long-term credit to the Louisiana planters. One authority reports that during the early 1830's, with speculative fever high, credit easy, and banking practices loose, the New Orleans banks extended credit up to fifty per cent of the estimated value of the planters' property.<sup>3</sup> Such loans, often for periods of twenty years, generally bore from six to eight per cent interest, but at times rates of ten to twelve per cent were charged. After the passage of the Louisiana banking law of 1842, which restricted bank loans to short-term commercial paper not exceeding ninety days, planter's credit was not supplied so readily by the banks.<sup>4</sup>

Of course there were always cases of planters borrowing directly from other planters. For example, in March, 1853, Lewis Thompson, wealthy North Carolina planter, had extended credits totaling \$102,000 to seven Louisiana planters. The annual interest rates on such loans varied from seven to ten per cent.<sup>5</sup> How frequent such direct lending and borrowing was among ante-bellum planters is uncertain. Though the example just cited involves exceptionally large amounts, it seems likely that smaller

<sup>1</sup> P. A. Champomier, *Statement of the Sugar Crop Made in Louisiana, 1861-1862* (New Orleans, 1862).

<sup>2</sup> Kenneth M. Clark to Lewis Thompson, January 17, 1854, Lewis Thompson Papers (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library).

<sup>3</sup> Victor Debouchel, *Histoire de la Louisiane* (New Orleans, 1851), 152; F. D. Conrad to David Weeks, April 9 [1828-1832], Weeks Hall Collection (Louisiana State University Archives).

<sup>4</sup> Davis R. Dewey, "Banking in the South," in *The South in the Building of the Nation*, 12 vols. (Richmond, 1909), V, 469-70.

<sup>5</sup> Lewis Thompson Papers, March 1, 1853.

loans from planter to planter were fairly frequent. Nor was it unusual for planters to purchase their plantation supplies on credit from wholesale dealers much in the same manner that the southern farmer today buys from the time merchant.

Although the above sources of capital were available, the ante-bellum sugar planters depended for the greater part of their credit needs upon that noted, yet enigmatic southern financier, the factor. It is one of the striking facts in southern history that one who played so important a role in the ante-bellum economy appears so little in recorded history. The sugar factor performed a variety of services for the ante-bellum planter. He extended him credit, purchased his supplies, marketed his crop, and acted as his agent in the city. As planter's agent, the factor frequently rendered such services as insuring the planter's crop and sugarhouse, paying his bills, and informing him of general business conditions. On occasions, the factor even visited and advised the planter's children who were at school in the city. It might then be said that he was at once personal friend, planter's banker and financier, purchasing agent, and marketing medium. Relations between Louisiana sugar planters and their commission merchants were in most cases personal and friendly. When in New Orleans, the planter called upon his factor for innumerable business and personal services, and a social visit by the merchant to his planter client in the country was not unusual. Correspondence between planters and factors indicates that there were relatively few disagreements between them and evidences of antagonism are rare indeed.

Generally in the winter and spring the planter would call upon his factor for the extension of credit for the purchase of plantation supplies. Sometimes the factor was himself a wholesale dealer and would forward the supplies, charging the amount to the planter's debit. More often, however, the factor was merely the agent and financier. He would purchase the needed articles from the appropriate dealers making his own arrangements with the sellers. The supplies would then be shipped to the planter, and his account would be charged with the amount of the purchase plus the legally prescribed buyer's commission of two and one-

half per cent. When short of capital, the factor often called on the planter for a draft sufficient to cover the amount of the purchases. Indeed, some factors followed this practice regularly. Such was the arrangement between Andrew McCollam of Terrebonne Parish and his New Orleans factor, William G. Hewes. For example, in July, 1852, when McCollam added \$1800 to a debit balance of \$10,250, Hewes called upon him for a draft of \$1900 payable within nine months. Accordingly, McCollam sent the draft which Hewes sold at a discount of nine per cent. The net amount less the legal brokerage fee of one per cent was then credited to McCollam's account.<sup>6</sup> These planters' drafts or notes were sold by the factor to exchange dealers, money brokers, and bankers. In such instances it is apparent that the real credit was extended not by the factor but by the money brokers or bankers, and the factor was no more than the planter's agent for the disposal of commercial paper.

When the factor was extending his personal capital as credit, apparently his own business judgment was the only restriction upon the amount extended. The probability is that the practice varied among the factors and each probably pursued different policies with different planters. Undoubtedly, such matters as the wealth of the planter in land, slaves, and equipment, the annual value of his crop, the intimacy of the personal relationship between planter and factor, and finally the amount of capital the factor had available all played their part in determining credit policies.

Not all sugar planters were in debt to their factors. Some managed to stay ahead of the game and maintain credit balances. At no time from 1851 to 1861 did Lewis Thompson, the owner of a plantation in Rapides Parish, draw upon his factors, Bogart, Foley, and Avery of New Orleans, for more than his credit balance. When he opened his account with them in 1851, it was arranged that he should receive eight per cent upon money on deposit with them and he in turn would pay interest at the same rate should he overdraw his cash deposit. In April, 1852, at

<sup>6</sup> Andrew McCollam Papers, 1852 (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library). For more detailed treatment, see J. Carlyle Sitterson, "The McCollams: A Planter Family of the Old and New South," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935- ), VI (1940), 347-67.

the end of the first year's account, Thompson wrote as follows: "Bogart & Foley ought to have allowed me the *interest* on the money which I left in their hands, and certainly on *that part of it* which was never used but passed to my credit, one *year after*, on a *new account*. Inasmuch however as they have done a good deal of business heretofore for me I suppose I ought to give this up." In fact, Bogart, Foley, and Avery never paid Thompson interest on his credit balance unless they notified him that they could use it in their business transactions. Whether or not factors made free use of money kept with them by planters without paying interest for its use it is impossible to say.

Since Thompson lived in North Carolina and visited Louisiana only every year or so, he found it necessary to intrust more of his affairs to his factors than was customary. Bogart, Foley, and Avery carried on extensive financial transactions for him, collecting the installments due on loans totaling over \$100,000. The money thus collected was either forwarded to him or reinvested in Louisiana. Thompson allowed his factors complete freedom to invest his money in commercial paper at prevailing rates of interest. By 1857, the handling of Thompson's financial affairs had become more important to the factorage firm than the financing and marketing of his sugar crop. In a single year, 1858-1859, his factors collected over \$70,000 in notes due him and during the same period invested for him \$90,000. Apparently, none of these short-term commercial investments were defaulted. The Civil War came too soon to allow the testing of the admonition of his friend, Henry K. Burgwyn, "As for dealing in merchantile paper thro' *agents*, it is a greater risk than I would care to run; & some of these fine days you will prove it a losing business."<sup>7</sup>

Since the factor was the most important credit agency in the sugar industry, it becomes important to examine the sources of his capital. In the first place, there was available the capital of the individual members of the factorage firm. Secondly, the factor might appeal to friends to endorse notes of the firm. Thirdly, many factors purchased supplies

<sup>7</sup> Henry K. Burgwyn to Thompson, May 16, 1859, Lewis Thompson Papers. These papers for the period from 1850 to 1861 contain much material on Thompson's financial transactions.

on credit, thereby making the credit of the wholesaler available to the planter. Fourthly, the New Orleans factorage firms maintained close relations with the banks of the city which were an important source for the operating funds of the firms. Finally, as has been observed above, the credit balances of planters were often an important source of capital.<sup>8</sup> Of course, in final analysis the total amount of credit available for the ante-bellum sugar industry depended primarily upon two conditions: first, the profitability of the sugar industry in particular and of the southern economy in general; and, secondly, the willingness of outside capital to advance credit to the South. If we are to believe the perennial cry that the debtor, agrarian South has been and remains in hock to the creditor, industrial Northeast, there can be no doubt of the flow of capital into the Louisiana "sugar bowl"; of course, one must not forget that it flowed at a price. As for the profitability of the sugar industry, the fact that both its capitalization and the value of its output increased substantially during the ante-bellum years indicates that the prospects of the industry invited capital investment.<sup>9</sup>

All in all, the problem of financing the ante-bellum sugar crop appears to have been little different from that of financing one of the staples in the post-bellum South. To those planters with agricultural assets, credit was available at rates somewhat higher than general commercial bank rates. How much of a genuine economic burden debit financing was to the southern sugar planter, it is difficult to say. With interest charges of from eight to twelve per cent, however, it is safe to conclude that it was at least as burdensome as debit farming always is to agriculture. The probability is that the remark of Kenneth Clark, planter of Rapides Parish, that sugar planters "once under the merchants in New Orleans . . . are for ever sunk" was not idle talk.<sup>10</sup>

Since Louisiana accounted for more than ninety per cent of the cane

<sup>8</sup> *De Bow's Review* (New Orleans, 1846-1880), XVI (1854), 314; Consolidated Association of Planters of Louisiana Papers, *passim* (Louisiana State University Archives).

<sup>9</sup> The capital invested in the industry increased from \$50,000,000 in 1830 to \$200,000,000 in 1861. *De Bow's Review*, I (1846), 55; After the War Series, II (1866), 304-306. The value of the crop was \$6,000,000 in 1842, \$25,000,000 in 1861. *Ibid.*, After the War Series, II (1866), 416.

<sup>10</sup> Clark to Thompson, January 9, 1852, Lewis Thompson Papers.

sugar produced in the ante-bellum South, it seems justifiable to limit the description of marketing practices to those followed in that state. From 1840 to 1860 an annual average of from forty-five to sixty per cent of the Louisiana crop was sold on the New Orleans market.<sup>11</sup> The remainder was sold in a variety of ways. It was customary for small producers to sell small quantities of sugar to retail merchants in the surrounding countryside or even to exchange sugar for other products.<sup>12</sup> In cases where plantations were located within easy reach of Mobile, planters often marketed their crops in that city. The prices on the Mobile market approximated those of New Orleans plus freight charges between the two cities. Consequently, plantations readily accessible to Mobile benefited from lower freight costs.<sup>13</sup> Nor was it unusual for a large planter to ship his crop by boat directly to Savannah, Charleston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York to be marketed there by a factor or commission merchant. The prices for Louisiana sugars in the eastern cities were somewhat above the New Orleans prices, generally enough higher to take care of the cost of shipment. When planters shipped directly to these markets it was generally because they believed the New Orleans prices to be out of line with the eastern prices. Such differentials naturally tended to correct themselves by diversion of sugar to the higher market. Occasionally a planter would attempt to benefit from what he thought to be high prices in New York. For example, in April, 1855, Andrew McCollam of Terrebonne Parish sold 104 hogsheads of sugar and 502 barrels of molasses in New York for a gross of \$9,903.38. After paying the transportation and marketing costs, however, his net was only \$6,830.09. Of the gross amount, fifty per cent in the case of molasses and twenty-two per cent in the case of sugar was consumed in freight and marketing costs. Apparently McCollam was convinced that little was to be gained by shipping directly to New York since he never sent any more to that city.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The annual amounts marketed in New Orleans were taken from the files of the *New Orleans Price Current* (New Orleans, 1822-1882).

<sup>12</sup> Andrew McCollam Papers, especially E. E. McCollam's Diary, October 7, 1846.

<sup>13</sup> *New Orleans Price Current*, March 12, 1845, *et seq.*

<sup>14</sup> Andrew McCollam Papers, 1855. See, also, files of the *New Orleans Price Current*, 1843-1857, for notices of shipment to New York.

Although sugar was sold in the ways mentioned above, the larger portion of the Louisiana crop not marketed in New Orleans was sold to buyers who visited the plantation. The buyers were either brokers who were purchasing for northern refiners or speculators who hoped to resell at higher prices on other markets. Sugar sold "on plantation" generally brought the New Orleans prices less the cost of transportation.

The most important market for the sale of sugar was New Orleans, where about fifty per cent of the Louisiana crop was sold. Generally, the sugar was shipped to the city by boat between November and May. Adequate transportation facilities at reasonable costs were of primary importance to the sugar planter as to the producers of other staples. Plantations located on the Mississippi or Red rivers or other navigable streams had a cost advantage over other plantations. With a scarcity of well-built roads, bad weather sometimes delayed the hauling of sugar. Thus, one planter wrote on January 11, 1858, "I have sent off no sugar yet, nor any more molasses for the roads have been so bad that it was almost impossible to haul on them."<sup>15</sup> The sugar planters of Louisiana enjoyed the advantages of transportation on the Mississippi and its tributaries. Yet, if we are to believe the complaints of some planters, the very ease of transportation afforded by the waterways discouraged the building of railroads. Occasionally, low water in the tributary streams was a real obstacle to the shipment of produce. Kenneth Clark of Rapides Parish complained bitterly in December, 1854, of the high freight rates resulting from low water in the Red River. He further complained that "from the lethargy of our people, we have no other mode of conveyance to New Orleans."<sup>16</sup>

For plantations located on the outer fringes of the sugar belt, transportation charges were an important cost factor. Freight rates from Rapides Parish occasionally reached the figure of five dollars per hogshead, which meant approximately ten per cent of the gross sale. Freight charges were even more of a burden in the shipment of molasses because of the bulk of the product relative to its value. On a shipment of twenty-

<sup>15</sup> William Thompson to Lewis Thompson, January 11, 1858, Lewis Thompson Papers.

<sup>16</sup> Clark to Thompson, December 17, 1854, *ibid.*

eight barrels of molasses that sold in New Orleans for \$236.98, the freight charges from Rapides Parish were \$58.24, or approximately twenty-four per cent. For plantations nearer New Orleans transportation cost was not a major item. In addition to freight charges, the planter usually carried insurance on the shipment, the cost of which varied from three-eighths to three-fourths of one per cent.<sup>17</sup>

The sugar and molasses were usually shipped to the planter's factor or agent in the city, who saw to their sale. Upon reaching the city the hogsheads were landed on the levee where transactions in sugar, molasses, cotton, tobacco, and other commodities took place. According to the regulations of the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce, produce landed on the levee had to be sold within thirty-six hours or moved into storage. This regulation was to prevent the overcrowding of the levee with produce.<sup>18</sup> If moved into storage, sugar had to bear storage charges of forty cents per hogshead per month.<sup>19</sup> The factor saw to the weighing of the sugar and molasses and then put them up for sale on the levee to the highest bidder. The factor's commission for selling sugar and molasses was two and one-half per cent. In addition to this, the planter had to pay small charges for cooperage, weighing, and drayage. These charges plus the cost of transportation came to considerable amounts in many instances. On occasions when the price was low and freight rates high it was not even profitable to ship molasses.<sup>20</sup> Once the sugar and molasses were sold, the net returns were credited to the planter's account with his factor.

The demand for sugar on the levee came mainly from four sources. Most important quantitatively was the sugar purchased for shipment up the Mississippi for consumption in the West. In the years from 1840 to 1860, approximately fifty per cent of the Louisiana crop was purchased

<sup>17</sup> Bills of sale in the Lewis Thompson Papers, 1850-1860, and in the Andrew McCollam Papers, 1854. See, also, *De Bow's Review*, VIII (1850), 58.

<sup>18</sup> *New Orleans Price Current*, 1843-1860, *passim*. In the 1840's the limit was twenty-four hours, but was increased to thirty-six during the 1850's.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, November, 1846, *et seq.* The legally prescribed tare for sugar hogsheads was ten per cent. Apparently, there was no standardized tare for molasses barrels.

<sup>20</sup> William G. Hewes to Andrew McCollam, July 6, 1852, Andrew McCollam Papers.



by western buyers. Secondly, there were the buyers from the Northeast, either the representatives of sugar refiners or sugar brokers who counted upon reselling in the eastern markets. Generally from thirty to thirty-five per cent of the Louisiana crop was purchased for export to the eastern cities, especially New York. Thirdly, there were sugar buyers who bought for the local demand. A part of the sugar thus purchased was refined in New Orleans and the remainder was sold as raw sugar for consumption in Louisiana and adjoining areas. This source accounted for the remaining fifteen to twenty per cent of the crop. In addition to the above buyers, there was a fourth type of sugar buyer, the speculator, who occupied much the same position that speculators in cotton, tobacco, and other commodities do on southern markets today. He purchased with the hope of reaping profits from the day-to-day fluctuations of the sugar market.<sup>21</sup>

The unloading of sugar and molasses on the levee, where they were subject to the hazards of weather, was criticized by planters and commercial journals alike. In January, 1847, *De Bow's Review* urged the erection of warehouses on the levee and of colonnades from the warehouses to the water's edge in order to prevent injury to produce being unloaded in bad weather.<sup>22</sup> In spite of such complaints, however, as late as 1856 nothing had been done to remedy this situation. In January of that year, a planter of Rapides Parish commented on the situation as follows: "I have come home thoroughly impressed with the conviction that New Orleans is the meanest commercial port in the world. The day I landed there was 2400 bales of cotton on the levee in a most miserable condition and great quantities of sugar & molasses—parts of the wharf were breaking in from the weight and produce [was] sacrificed to get it out of the way."<sup>23</sup>

More important than such inadequacies in marketing facilities was the lack of organization of the commercial phases of the sugar interest. There was no special organization of the sugar factors or business men

<sup>21</sup> The above information is based upon material found in the files of the *New Orleans Price Current*, 1840-1860, *passim*.

<sup>22</sup> *De Bow's Review*, III (1847), 46-47.

<sup>23</sup> Clark to Thompson, January 19, 1856, Lewis Thompson Papers.

in New Orleans which purported to protect and advance the sugar industry. Such important matters as adequate levee facilities, investigation of complaints, consideration of marketing improvements, and regulation of credit practices were all left to agencies having no special interest in the industry as a whole.<sup>24</sup> In November, 1855, a circular admonished the sugar interest on this state of affairs as follows:

There is probably no interest in the United States, of the same importance, so much neglected by those engaged in its culture . . . as the sugar interest of Louisiana; and there is probably none which so much requires combined energy and care in the promotion of its interests. While all other branches of industry are cared for by the associated efforts of those engaged in them, we are content to let the sugar interest float along on the current of daily events, and let it take its chance for good or ill, giving ourselves, collectively, very little concern about it.<sup>25</sup>

Numerous complaints finally brought an attempt at remedy. On January 22-23, 1856, a Sugar Planters Convention was held in New Orleans. One prominent member of the convention declared that the short time—only thirty-six hours—sugar and molasses were allowed to remain on the levee before being sold often resulted in sales at unjustifiably low prices. Moreover, he charged that frequently such produce once sold was allowed to remain there several days giving rise "to strong suspicion of partiality for the benefit of speculators." This convention appointed a committee to investigate the marketing facilities. The committee made the investigation and in April made the following report: First, the space on the levee allotted for the receipt and sale of sugar and molasses was considered inadequate; secondly, it was estimated that at least \$150,000 would be required to purchase the necessary ground and build sufficient platforms, sheds, and wharves for the accommodation and protection of the produce; and, finally, the committee proposed the formation of an incorporated association of those interested in the Louisiana sugar industry, to be known as "The Louisiana Sugar Mart."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *De Bow's Review*, XIX (1855), 688 *et seq.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, XX (1856), 226-27.

<sup>26</sup> Speech of John Moore, January, 1856, MS. in Weeks Hall Collection (Louisiana State University Archives); *New Orleans Price Current*, April 12, 1856.

It was not until the post-bellum period, however, that such an organization was formed.

In conclusion, what may be said of the commercial aspects of this important ante-bellum industry? As is generally true of agricultural products, the facilities for financing and marketing the sugar crop of the Old South developed haphazardly. Persistent criticisms of the inadequacies of the practices brought more concerted attempts to improve conditions. But the absence of any central organization caused many inefficient practices to go uncorrected. Yet, it must be said that the sugar industry was awakened to the need of an agency to promote its interests. This awakening was to bear fruit in the post-bellum years.

# Notes and Documents

## A GEORGIA PRECEDENT FOR THE FREEPORT QUESTION

BY HORACE MONTGOMERY

When Abraham Lincoln posed his celebrated Freeport question in 1858 it is doubtful whether he realized that over two years earlier Georgia's minority spokesmen had framed in almost identical language the issue of territorial control of slavery. Lincoln drafted his inquiry in such a way as to expose the shadow of unconstitutionality which by the Dred Scott decision the Supreme Court had cast over Stephen A. Douglas' plan of submitting the question of slavery in the territories to the territorial residents. "Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?" he asked Douglas during their debate at Freeport, Illinois.<sup>1</sup>

An affirmative answer would have denied the validity of the Dred Scott decision. A frank exposition of the southern position on the question of slavery in the territories, this decision was announced by Chief Justice Taney in 1857. Contending that the Constitution protected slavery in the territories, the Court simply declared that any action depriving a slaveowner of the right to take his slaves into a territory was unconstitutional. With a negative answer Douglas would have rejected his own plan of local autonomy which in 1854 he had incorporated in his Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Familiarly known in the South as the "Freeport heresy," his answer showed his disapproval of the Dred Scott decision.

Re-elected to the Senate in 1858 in spite of his Freeport heresy, Douglas soon found himself supported by only the northern fragment

<sup>1</sup> Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858*, 4 vols. (New York, 1928), IV, 298.

of the Democratic party. Lincoln had helped to split the Democratic party beyond immediate repair, and two years later in his successful campaign for the presidency he was to profit from this state of affairs. For this reason the Freeport question has been accounted a brilliant maneuver in political strategy. Hence the activities of Georgia's minority spokesmen in 1855-1856 present an interesting precedent.

The Georgia discussions of 1855-1856 followed a year which is conspicuous for the absence of party animus. Numerous factors combined to make 1854 a year of relative political tranquility in Georgia. Among the more important of these factors was the state of feeling created by the sectional debate in Congress over the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. When this bill was presented to Congress early in 1854, Georgia editors responded with blithe assertions that at last southern rights were to be rescued from the quicksands of abolition. Political considerations vanished as party spokesmen and journals expressed the conviction that Douglas, the bill's author, had found a satisfactory method of treating slavery in the territories.

The Milledgeville *Southern Recorder*, orthodox Whig journal, announced during the early stages of Congressional debate that "the South is likely to be almost, if not quite, a unit" in supporting the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.<sup>2</sup> The *Federal Union*, rival Democratic paper at Milledgeville, declared a short time later that "the South is now united."<sup>3</sup> The *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, long recognized as one of the most influential Whig newspapers in the South, expressed the opinion that the Douglas proposal was a sound one.<sup>4</sup> Howell Cobb's *Southern Banner* at Athens, the *Macon Journal and Messenger*, the *Augusta Constitutionalist and Republic*, and other journals with consistent partisan backgrounds all joined to render Douglas thunderous applause.<sup>5</sup>

Since the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was to become the subject of heated controversy in Georgia during 1855-1856, it is a fair assumption that to many of the bill's early supporters the author's objectives were vague.

<sup>2</sup> February 28, 1854.

<sup>3</sup> March 21, 1854.

<sup>4</sup> See issue of February 8, 1854, for a typical editorial.

<sup>5</sup> Editorials from numerous journals are reprinted in the Athens *Southern Banner*, March 9, 16, 1854.

That Douglas intended to substitute local autonomy for the Missouri Compromise of 1820, by which Congress had closed a large part of the Louisiana Territory to slavery, was plain. What he failed to do, however, was to incorporate in his measure certain important details of procedure to be followed in applying local autonomy. It would seem a fair inference, from official utterances as well as from circumstantial evidence, that he assumed that once Congress had created a territory settlers would quickly take up residence therein and promptly decide for themselves whether they wanted slavery by putting it to a vote.<sup>6</sup> This view of local autonomy had drawn the fire of alert Georgians as early as 1848. Robert Toombs, for example, cynically referred to it as "squatter sovereignty" and warned that it would place control of slavery in the hands of the highly mobile and unsympathetic foreigners then beginning to arrive from Europe in large numbers.<sup>7</sup>

Opposed to the squatter sovereignty view of local autonomy was the southern interpretation which was generally known as "popular sovereignty." A logical sequence of the state rights doctrine, popular sovereignty was based on the premise that the people of a territory possessed no rights whatsoever to deal with slavery until they were ready for statehood. Upon reaching this stage of their development, the people of a territory were to choose a convention to draft a state constitution. It was the function of this convention to decide the question of slavery for the forthcoming state. Meanwhile, it was the duty of the federal government to safeguard the property of the slaveowner by enforcing the Constitution, the bulwark of slavery.<sup>8</sup>

Despite the fact that it was favorably received by Georgians while before Congress for consideration, once the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was in operation in Kansas minority leaders abruptly ceased to glorify it. Both proslavery and antislavery forces in Kansas sought to employ the measure for partisan advantage. Civil war and bloodshed were the re-

<sup>6</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 325-36 (March 3, 1854), and Beveridge, *Lincoln*, III, 166, on the "object" of Douglas.

<sup>7</sup> The views of Robert Toombs on this subject are fully presented in speeches published in the *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel* of the following dates: September 20, 27, 1848, March 28, 1854.

<sup>8</sup> Milledgeville *Federal Union*, January 10, 1854; Macon *Journal and Messenger*, quoted in *ibid.*, February 21, 1854; Athens *Southern Banner*, January 26, February 2, 1854.

sult. Purposeful Georgia editors at first grimly observed the "bleeding of Kansas." Before long many of them began openly to accuse Douglas of bad faith. Unquestionably both the tone and the suddenness of the attack sprang from the partisan zeal which was generated by the gubernatorial contest of 1855 and the presidential campaign of 1856. It was this environment that provoked the discussions which in 1858 were to be paralleled by the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport.

In need of an issue with which to assail the Democrats in the forthcoming gubernatorial campaign of 1855, the newly founded Know Nothing party selected the Kansas-Nebraska Bill for attack. Hence some of the editors who in 1854 had supported the bill spurned it within less than a year. Suddenly emerging as the leading Know Nothing organ, the Milledgeville *Southern Recorder* complained that President Pierce was reading into it the obnoxious doctrine of squatter sovereignty.<sup>9</sup> With an elaborate review of the hardships which slaveowners were encountering in the Kansas Territory, this journal accused the President of duplicity and bad faith. Thus by charging the Democratic party with a conspiracy to turn Kansas over to the mobile free soil foreigners of the North by applying the squatter sovereignty interpretation to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, Georgia's Know Nothings had forged an effective weapon for use against their opponents.<sup>10</sup>

Failure to win the gubernatorial election of 1855 did not deter the Know Nothings. With a considerable show of party animus, their leading organs continued to attack the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. On December 4 the editor of the *Southern Recorder* observed with manifest alarm that the people of the Kansas Territory "are inclined to exercise their *sovereign* will to a rather excessive degree." Within three weeks Know Nothing delegates had assembled in an important party convention.

<sup>9</sup> August 14, 1855.

<sup>10</sup> Speeches and letters of Eugenius A. Nisbet, in the Milledgeville *Federal Union*, July 24, August 14, September 4, 1855; speech of Willis A. Hawkins, Know Nothing candidate for Congress, *ibid.*; Garnett Andrews' letter of July 16, 1855, accepting the Know Nothing nomination for governor, in Augusta *Chronicle and Sentinel*, July 25, 1855; Augusta *Chronicle and Sentinel*, September 26, 1855; Milledgeville *Southern Recorder*, August 21, December 4, 25, 1855, February 5, 1856; John W. Duncan to Howell Cobb, December 21, 1855, in Cobb Papers (University of Georgia Library); official proceedings of the Know Nothing conventions of June 28 and December 19-20, 1855, in Augusta *Chronicle and Sentinel*, July 4, December 26, 1855.

Taking their cue from the *Southern Recorder*, they assailed the doctrine of squatter sovereignty and pledged their party to guarantee the South's property rights in slavery in the territories.<sup>11</sup> Precisely how this was to be done was not explained, but the tone of the convention's proceedings as well as the temper of party journals warrants the inference that Know Nothings were contemplating some form of federal action to safeguard slavery in the territories.

The presidential campaign of 1856 gave a fresh impetus to the assault on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Three candidates entered this campaign. The Democrats nominated James Buchanan, who during the fight over the adoption of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill had been serving as minister to England. Americans, as the Know Nothings were now known, turned to ex-President Millard Fillmore in the hope that his association with the popular Compromise of 1850 would elect him to the presidency. Scarcely two years old, the Republican party named its first candidate for President in 1856 by nominating John C. Frémont. With a crusading fervor this youthful party unequivocally pledged itself to the principle that Congress possessed the constitutional right to prohibit slavery in the territories. Frémont, who was ironically enough a native Georgian, had no support in the state of his birth. Hence the campaign in Georgia developed into a contest between Democrats and Americans, and for a second time in two years the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was to be thoroughly tested in the heat of political controversy.

Early in the campaign Fillmore assailed Douglas for having brought about the repeal of the Missouri Compromise with his Kansas-Nebraska Bill.<sup>12</sup> Georgia's Democratic editors scorched Fillmore as an abolitionist and made certain that his declaration against Douglas was given wide circulation. The American nominee, insisted the *Federal Union* and the *Southern Banner*, had committed his party to the Republican doctrine of Congressional control of slavery in the territories.<sup>13</sup> Fillmore's

<sup>11</sup> Official proceedings of the Know Nothing convention of December 19-20, 1855, in *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, December 26, 1855.

<sup>12</sup> Speech of Millard Fillmore, in *Milledgeville Federal Union*, June 17, 1856.

<sup>13</sup> *Milledgeville Federal Union*, July 15, August 19, 1856; *Athens Southern Banner*, August 7, 1856.



Georgia spokesmen were kept busy vainly trying to disprove this Democratic charge.

James Buchanan had a dubious record on the question of controlling slavery in the territories. Like many of his contemporaries he favored at various times Congressional control, squatter sovereignty, and popular sovereignty. Announcing in his letter of acceptance that "the people of a Territory, like those of States, shall decide for themselves, whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits," he quickly became the target for the American charge of favoring squatter sovereignty.<sup>14</sup> However, the Democratic nominee had not specified when the people of a territory were to make their decision. Hence his Georgia followers had an escape. They painstakingly pointed out that nowhere had Buchanan conceded the right of territorial residents to act on slavery before they were ready for statehood.<sup>15</sup> Consequently, they insisted, their nominee had not committed himself to squatter sovereignty.

The American organs struck back at Buchanan's Georgia defenders by quoting those northern Democrats who extravagantly claimed that their nominee had never supported, and never would support, the southern position on slavery.<sup>16</sup> On August 19 the editor of the *Southern Recorder* concluded one of his typical thrusts at northern Democrats by a terse summary of what had been for nearly a decade the southern conception of local autonomy. "Southern statesmen," he exclaimed, "contend that the people of a territory, *while in a territorial condition*, have no right to fix its conditions as regards slavery, much less prohibit it."

It was in Georgia's Sixth Congressional District that the tangled issue of local autonomy was most astutely resolved. In this district Cincinnatus Peeples, American candidate for elector, opened the campaign's most enlightened discussion. During a debate with Judge Junius Hillyer he raised the question which was substantially to be repeated

<sup>14</sup> Letter of acceptance, June 16, 1856, in *Macon Journal and Messenger*, July 2, 1856. See comments in *Athens Southern Watchman*, July 3, 10, 17, 1856, and *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, July 29, 1856.

<sup>15</sup> *Milledgeville Federal Union*, June 17, 1856; *Griffin Empire State*, August 6, 1856; *Athens Southern Banner*, July 24, 1856.

<sup>16</sup> *Concord New Hampshire Patriot*, *Boston Post*, and *Providence Post*, quoted in *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, August 19, 26, 1856.

by Lincoln at Freeport. "Do you believe," he asked, "that the people of a Territory, while in a territorial condition, and before they form a State Constitution, have the right to legislate on the subject of slavery?"<sup>17</sup> Hillyer replied by explaining that territorial legislation was necessary to enable the master to exercise the rights of ownership over his slaves.<sup>18</sup>

Skeptical of Democratic views on local autonomy, John H. Christy, editor of the Athens *Southern Watchman*, declared that Hillyer's position would endanger southern rights.<sup>19</sup> To concede a territorial legislature the right to enact legislation for the protection of the slaveowner, continued the Athens journalist, was a tacit recognition of the right of that body to outlaw slavery. This, he concluded, was squatter sovereignty.

After more careful consideration, Christy retracted his first interpretation of Hillyer's reply to Peeples. He now came forward with an explanation that it was not the "right" but the "duty" of the territorial legislature to enact rules to protect slavery.<sup>20</sup> Continuing his explanation, he pointed out that "the Constitution carries slavery into the Territories," and the territorial legislature possessed no power to legislate against the Constitution. In conclusion he gloomily reflected that "by 'changing the venue' to the Territories, our rights are determined where we are not represented, and by a people, not only not our friends, but blindly prejudiced against us! It is virtually leaving the whole question to arbitration, and suffering our antagonist to select the arbitrators!"<sup>21</sup>

Following Buchanan's election in 1856 the Democrats set out to clarify the question of territorial control of slavery. Surrounded by southern associates, the new President announced in his inaugural address that "A difference of opinion has arisen in regard to the point of time when the people of a Territory shall decide this question of slavery for themselves."<sup>22</sup> Forthwith he proceeded to commit his administration

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Athens *Southern Watchman*, August 28, 1856.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> August 28, 1856.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, September 4, 1856.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, September 11, 1856.

<sup>22</sup> James D. Richardson (ed.), *Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897*, 10 vols. (New York, 1899), V, 431.

to popular sovereignty, and strongly hinted that this view was shortly to be validated by court action.

On March 6, 1857, two days after President Buchanan announced his commitment to popular sovereignty, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney read his memorable opinion in the Dred Scott decision.<sup>28</sup> The Chief Justice tacitly rejected the notion that Congress could legislate against slavery in the territories. By emphasizing the right of property in slavery as affirmed in the Fifth Amendment he consigned squatter sovereignty to a similar fate. Strongly asserting that Congress was obligated by this amendment to protect slave property in the territories, Taney simply validated the southern view which was so succinctly presented by Georgians in 1855 and 1856. Thus the setting for the Freeport question was created.

The study of the Georgia discussions of 1855-1856 thus reveals ample precedent for the Freeport question. Arguments put forward in the heat of partisan debate hardened into dogma. Acceptance of this dogma by President Buchanan and Chief Justice Taney in 1857 set the stage for Lincoln's Freeport thrust at Douglas a year later. Neither the Freeport question nor the discussions which it provoked presented anything not already put forward by Georgia editors and politicians.

#### SOME POST-WAR OBSERVATIONS OF JEFFERSON DAVIS CONCERNING EARLY ASPECTS OF THE CIVIL WAR

EDITED BY ARTHUR MARVIN SHAW

Among the private papers of Colonel William Preston Johnston<sup>1</sup> are several hitherto unpublished letters written by Jefferson Davis in response to Johnston's request for comments and suggestions concerning

<sup>28</sup> Carl B. Swisher, *Roger B. Taney* (New York, 1935), 505-506; Edward S. Corwin, "The Dred Scott Decision in the Light of Contemporary Legal Doctrine," in *American Historical Review* (New York, 1895- ), XVII (1911), 52-69; Homer C. Hockett, *The Constitutional History of the United States, 1826-1876* (New York, 1939), 232-50.

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Johnston's private papers were for many years in the possession of one of his granddaughters, Mrs. Mason Barret of Louisville, Kentucky; but in the spring of 1942 they

the manuscript draft of his biography of his father, General Albert Sidney Johnston. It will be recalled that Colonel Johnston served as aide-de-camp to President Davis during the greater part of the Civil War and that through this association a strong friendship grew up between the two men and continued until the death of Davis in 1889. As he worked on the biography of his father, therefore, Johnston was anxious that no portion of his book should offend his former chief, and yet he realized that he could not accomplish his primary aim of vindication without discussing controversial matters concerning which the former president of the Confederacy might be sensitive. Consequently, he submitted parts of the manuscript to Davis for examination and criticism.<sup>2</sup>

Davis, in turn, did not offer many criticisms of an adverse nature; and such as he offered were usually accepted, but not always—especially when the point under discussion seemed to touch the honor or military ability of General Johnston. The letter given below, which is concerned with General Johnston's difficulties when he first took command of the Army of Tennessee, reveals the principal instance in which Davis and the author disagreed with reference to statements in the manuscript. Despite the objections set forth in this letter, Johnston made only slight changes in his account of the matters referred to—changes which he believed would make it plain that he wished no blame to rest directly upon his friend—and the discussion as published in his book is substantially the same as that quoted in Davis' letter.

In his reply to this letter, however, Johnston said: "On *one* point we must disagree—it may be *prejudice* on my part, but I hope not—the judiciousness, not the motives of the gov't in their action on the 12 Mo

were presented by her to the Howard-Tilton Memorial Library at Tulane University. The only book-length study of Colonel Johnston is Arthur Marvin Shaw, *William Preston Johnson: A Transitional Figure of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge, 1943).

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, his letter of October 18, 1877, in which he said: "I send you *one chapter* . . ., not as a sample, but because it is the only one which does not reflect *as in a mirror* your own views. I beg that you will erase anything and insert anything that you think necessary to establish the truth." Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist: His Letters, Papers, and Speeches*, 10 vols. (Jackson, Miss., 1923), VIII, 37.

men.”<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, when Davis wrote his *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* he stated his positions with reference to some points of this discussion exactly as he had given them to Johnston in this letter. He was probably as anxious as anyone for the complete vindication of Albert Sidney Johnston; and although he differed with his former aide on some points relating to the attitude and policy of the Confederate government, he took no second place in emphasizing the qualities of character and military skill possessed by General Johnston. Concerning the General’s wisdom in calling for twelve-months volunteers—which from William Preston Johnston’s standpoint was perhaps the most important item in the letter—Davis made no statement in his book.

Since the observations contained in this letter to Colonel Johnston coincide so closely with the statements which Davis made four years later in his book, they can hardly be considered as new evidence on what he thought; but they do provide an additional clue to the persistence with which he adhered to a particular line of thought over a period of years. The circumstances under which they were written would seem to indicate, also, that in spite of the impression conveyed by his critics, one could disagree with Davis on matters of interpretation and still retain his friendship.

Missi. City P. O.

Nov. 18 1877

Col. W. P. Johnston

My dear friend,

My absence was prolonged beyond my expectation when I wrote to you from Memphis. On my return yours of the 5th Inst. was received and the Mss. found and promptly read. I have made some pencil crosses on the margin to point your examination of the passages on which the subjoined remarks are offered.

<sup>8</sup> Johnston to Davis, December 7, 1877, *ibid.*, VIII, 56-57. This statement refers to the condition of affairs in the West in October, 1861, when General Johnston was attempting in the face of great difficulties to raise and equip an army for the defense of Kentucky and Tennessee. In the hope of promoting rapid enlistment, he offered volunteers a twelve-months period of enlistment instead of a longer term of service. The publication of the proclamation containing this call was followed by a letter to General Johnston from Secretary of War Judah P. Benjamin, stating that no enlistments should be accepted for a shorter period than the duration of the war and directing that all twelve-months volunteers be disbanded. William Preston Johnston, *The Life of General Albert Sidney Johnston, Embracing his Services in the Armies of the United States, the Republic of Texas, and the Confederate States* (New York, 1878), 338-39.

P. 1—When the war began and the fact was realized of actual conflict, there was want of appreciation of the danger and of the means necessary for defense rather than lethargy of the South.

P. 16—The mixed arms and varied ammunition was a source of inefficiency and confusion, rather than of "disorganization."

2nd p. 16—The opportunity to import arms never existed. Our agents were before those of the North in the markets of Europe, serviceable arms were not to any considerable extent for sale, so they made contracts for manufacture, as rapidly as was practicable. Had we waited until the men who subsequently blamed us for not importing arms, had become satisfied that there would be war, the agents of the north would have been in advance of us, with the contractors whose works we employed after buying all the arms on hand. There were reported to be a large number of French muskets for sale, we had them examined, they were condemned arms of which an expert reported that they would be more dangerous to the men using them, than those against whom they might be used.<sup>5</sup>

p. 13—I do not know what sort of preparation the Govt. neglected. It can hardly refer to absence of exertion to create manufactories of the munitions of War, and if to efforts to increase the army, you will recollect the steady flow of reinforcements to the army with which you were serving, after the first battle of Manassas. True they only supplied the waste of that in inaction, so that the effective force was about equal in Oct. to what it had been in July.

p. 19—If arms not men was the difficulty, it could not have been wise to issue the arms to men enrolled for short terms. Men for the war might well have been just in camps to wait for arms, and in the meantime to be instructed, disciplined and nursed through the usual diseases, but reasons are numerous in addition to those mentioned by the Secretary of War against adopting that course toward volunteers for short periods and who being unarmed could render in the meantime no service.

p. 22—In the temper ascribed to the people, confidence in the all sufficient force of Genl. Johnston might have encouraged enlistments, instead of preventing them.

p. 23—Of all men those least likely to reenlist would, I think, be such as had served a short tour. Did you ever hear of sixty day men wanting to try another tour. Those who went from Missi. to Columbus, Ky. would serve for an example. Was the willingness to reenlist at the expiration of their term exhibited by the 12 Mos. men. If such had been the fact, the conscript act would not only have been unnecessary, but offensively unjust, as to those who had served 12 months and were willing to continue.

p. 24—If to take 12 mos. men would prevent recruitment for the War, and if only unarmed men were received for the War more of that class could be ob-

\* Cf. Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, 2 vols. (New York, 1881), I, 314.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 311.

tained than could be armed in any foreseen period, the policy seemed clearly indicated.

p. p. 25 & 26—The "importance and the danger of the situation in Tenn." was not unseen or unmeasured by at least one member of the Confederate Govt, the one of whose opinions you had the best opportunity to judge, and to whom it had not been the habit to ascribe the belief that there would be no war, or a small war, or that diplomacy or foreign intervention would suffice for our case. Before I was inaugurated I announced the belief that the war would be long and bloody, and spoke of the necessity for keeping the war out of our interior. After Middle Tenn. and Ky. were in the hands of the enemy, and East Tenn. was open to him there was yet a part of that importance not overlooked in the beginning which remained, the mountain chain running from Ala. to Lynchburg. The barrier of what has been called the Switzerland of the South, and my fault was, not having failed to see its value, but not being able to carry out my wishes and convictions. It was the fate of the Administration to be considered able to defend every assailed place, & to be criticized by everyone who saw but one of the many places to be covered. It was easy to say other places were less important, and it was the frequent plea, but if it had been heeded as advised, dissatisfaction, distress, desertions of soldiers, opposition of State Govts. would have soon changed "apathy" into *collapse*. I hope it may never be your misfortune to conduct a war and a political campaign as a joint operation,<sup>6</sup> but until you have such an experience, you cannot rightly measure the trials to which the Confederate Gov't. was subjected, and on how slender a foundation the structure was made to stand, when powerfully assailed not only from without, but within by a cabal whose acts are beginning to be visible. I will send your Mss. by this mail. I am as ever yours

Jefferson Davis

<sup>6</sup> In his biography Johnston indicates that the difficulties of the Administration were great, but he does not recede from his position that the Administration—by which term he apparently means the President's advisers—had erred in the appraisal of the situation in Tennessee. Note the combined censure and excuse in the following: "The Government had to conduct a great war and a political campaign at the same time. It was the error of the Administration not to have perceived that the defense of Tennessee was vital, and that it was in more immediate peril even than Virginia—that a stab in the back is as fatal as one in the breast. Still, it must be remembered that the Government was in great difficulties, and that the primary cause of the want of troops was the apathy of the Southern people." Johnston, *Albert Sidney Johnston*, 342.

## Book Reviews

*Parliamentary Privilege in the American Colonies.* By Mary Patterson Clarke.  
(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943. Pp. xi, 303. Bibliography.  
\$3.00.)

After a careful perusal of this work the reader is impressed—even surprised—at the marked similarity of the colonial assemblies to their prototype, the British Parliament, and their successors, the modern American legislative bodies. This similarity is not accidental. In the one case it is due to the fact that our legislatures are a continuation of the colonial assemblies and have retained the procedure and practice of their ancestors. On the other hand, the popular branch of the colonial assembly was a conscious and close imitation of the British House of Commons. Both in the continental colonies and in the island plantations the assemblies, in the assumption of authority, based their claims on precedents set by Parliament.

The lower houses of the colonial assemblies, like the House of Commons in the homeland, considered themselves the guardians of the people's liberties. They therefore had a high sense of dignity and aggressively claimed for themselves parliamentary privilege in the full sense of the term. Not only did they determine their election disputes and exercise control over their own members, but they also successfully maintained that their rights included freedom from arrest; freedom from molestation; freedom of speech; access to the governor; and the privilege of having their actions viewed favorably. They magnified their office and insisted that their authority rested on inherent right—privilege, whereas the royal governors contended that it was a matter of prerogative, that is, was derived from the charters or instructions issued by the king. This difference in attitude as to privilege and prerogative was at the bottom of much of the controversy between the assemblies and the royal governors and that between the upper and lower houses of the assembly. The members of the assemblies were sticklers for correct parliamentary procedure and in their relations with governmental officials and individuals demanded a rigid adherence to traditional practice.

In protecting its members and their servants against molestation the colonial assembly sometimes made a despotic use of its power, even to the extent of violating individual rights and the freedom of the press. The property of debtor members was unduly protected from seizure by their creditors. Slander of or abusive language uttered against a member was construed as a violation of priv-



ilege. Persons who in the heat of anger had spoken of or written about members in uncomplimentary fashion were haled before the bar of the house and duly punished, unless they should ask pardon for their offenses.

It was also deemed necessary to keep the members of the assembly under proper restraints if the dignity and prestige of the body were to be safeguarded. Accordingly, assemblymen were reined up to a standard of discipline that would be considered intolerable today. They were fined for unexcused absences and punished for infractions of the rules or acts of discourtesy toward the body. Many instances are recited in which members were forced to kneel at the bar, acknowledge their offenses, and ask pardon of the assembly.

One of the best chapters of the entire work is the one entitled "The Assembly as a Court." So far as the knowledge of this reviewer goes, this is the fullest and best discussion of this topic that has yet appeared. The author points out that many of the assemblies, especially in the early years, had original and appellate jurisdiction in both civil and criminal cases. In later years when the trend was against the exercise of judicial authority by the assembly it still performed a number of acts in the nature of judicial decisions, such as the granting of divorces, the impeachment of officials and private individuals, and the meting out of punishment for violations of its privilege.

This carefully prepared and scholarly study is supported by such abundant data that its conclusions are almost unassailable. The discussion is closely knit and there are no loose threads to serve as starters for the unraveling process in which reviewers take so much delight. The style is clear and readable, the proof-reading was carefully done, and not a single misprint has been found. The character of the study is such as fully to justify the statement of the publishers that the "work is a significant contribution to an understanding of the growth of political maturity in America before the Revolution."

West Virginia University

OLIVER PERRY CHITWOOD

*New Viewpoints in Georgia History.* By Albert B. Saye. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1943. Pp. vii, 256. Bibliography. \$2.50.)

This book is a detailed account of the political development of Georgia from the foundation of the colony to its entrance into the Federal Union, with the evolution of governmental institutions as the central theme. The familiar periodization is seen in the six chapter headings: "The Genesis of Georgia," "The Execution of a Trust," "A Model Royal Colony," "The Revolution," "Early State Government," and "The Federal Union."

In the foundation of Georgia and its government we have another example of the marked variety of English colonial establishments in America. Control over the province was placed in a board of trustees, whose members were to receive no personal profit from the project and whose powers were to extend for twenty-one years. Imperial defense and trade, philanthropy, and religion

were the motives behind the enterprise, and the cost of foundation was met by contributions from philanthropic individuals and from Parliament. The author believes that the connection between the original trustees and the associates of Dr. Bray has been overemphasized in such a manner as to produce the belief that the associates were largely responsible for stimulating the trustees in their action. On the contrary, the very reverse was the case, and it is helpful indeed to the historian to have the associates, the "Georgia Society," and the movement for the foundation of Georgia disentangled and each accorded its proper role.

About five-sevenths of the total number of trustees were members of Parliament and it was in that body that they waged a hard fight to obtain funds from a rather unsympathetic ministry. Being men of high repute, disinterested in pleading their cause, and possessed of votes in the House of Commons, their requests could not be lightly dismissed. In seeking financial aid these men used the arguments of military strength and economic benefits which Georgia would add to the Empire, and not the relief of debtors.

The idea that Georgia was founded primarily as an asylum for unfortunate English debtors is a highly cherished popular misconception, and the author has done his part in trying to correct it. A careful examination of the sources did not reveal any association of debtor relief with the Georgia colony. Not over twelve debtors, if that many, were ever sent to the colony, and then not because they were debtors. It is the belief of the author that Oglethorpe's connection with prison reform in England as well as with the foundation of Georgia, the philanthropy of the trustees, and their association with the Parliamentary Committee on Jails, explain the erroneous conception.

The steps leading to the organization of the board of trustees, the securing of the charter and its contents, the personnel of the board, and the work of Oglethorpe are carefully traced with a highly commendable thoroughness. The practical application of the system provided for in the charter is analyzed, with the result that one may get a clearer picture of the actual operation of the government in London and in Georgia. Difficulty in securing that required quorum of eight for the common council of the corporation led the board of trustees to perform most of its functions. Other circumstances resulted in governmental operation quite different from that anticipated in the charter. No governor was ever appointed, and only three laws were passed: the prohibition of Negro slavery, the prohibition of spirituous liquors, and the restriction of the Indian trade, all of them ill-considered legislation productive only of discontent and violation by the colonists. Special ordinances and regulations, dealing with specific problems, replaced formal laws.

In describing the transition to a royal province, Georgia's entry into the Revolution, the emergence of the state government, and her support of the movement for a stronger union of all the states, the author makes less of a contribution than in the first chapter of the book. Acknowledgment is given the thor-

ough studies by James Ross McCain, *Georgia as a Proprietary Province*, Percy Scott Flippin, *The Royal Government in Georgia* (printed in *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, March, 1924-June, 1929), and Amos Aschbach Ettinger, *James Edward Oglethorpe: Imperial Idealist*, as well as the standard works on the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. It does not seem altogether appropriate to call the book *New Viewpoints in Georgia History*, especially since, by its nature, it will attract professional historians rather than the general public, and specialists will find little that is new to them.

A scholarly work that enriches our knowledge and understanding of the past is certainly worth writing, and this one does that. Painstaking research in the storehouse of source materials on Georgia by a competent scholar has furnished us with badly needed clarification and amplification of a large number of points in the history of this state.

A number of errors and inconsistencies in style appear in the book. On page 167, footnote 24, careless proofreading produces an error in the title of Nevins, *American States during and after the Revolution*, and on page 244 the name of Randolph G. Adams is incorrectly given. On page 245 William Cobbett is listed as the author of *The Parliamentary History of England*, but on page 12, footnote 20, he is identified as the editor of the work. The title of McLaughlin, *Constitutional History of the United States* (p. 222, footnote 51) is another example of careless checking of proof. Awkwardness in citations mars the scholarly documentation of the book, particularly in listing the names of the authors used.

New York University

RALPH B. FLANDERS.

*Exile without an End.* By Chapman J. Milling. (Columbia: Bostick & Thornley, Inc., 1943. Pp. xii, 88. Appendix, bibliography. \$2.00.)

Members of the medical profession have made important contributions to the historical literature of South Carolina, as the work of Ramsay, Gibbes, and Crawford, to mention only three, demonstrates. *Exile without an End* furnishes another pleasing example of the physician in the role of historian. Dr. Milling, already favorably known for his excellent study of South Carolina Indians, here reconstructs from the scanty records the all-but-forgotten story of the French Acadians whom the British assigned to South Carolina at the time of their general dispersal from Nova Scotia during the French and Indian War.

Dr. Milling, himself a descendant of a South Carolina Acadian family, brings to his narrative a sympathetic understanding of the sad plight of the more than one thousand French peasants who were suddenly uprooted from their native land and transported to a province where their enemy blood and Catholic faith made them not only unwelcome but also highly suspect. Although full details of the South Carolina story are lost forever, the author has sympathetically re-

vealed the high lights of the tragedy. The heartaches caused by possessions lost and families separated, the suffering en route, the sickness and death resulting from crowded conditions and inadequate care in Charleston, the anxious desire of the Acadians to escape from South Carolina and South Carolina's desire to be rid of them, the distribution under compulsion among the parishes to be bound out as servants, the decimation of their ranks by malaria and smallpox, the straggling back to Charleston in search of friend and relative, and the eventual escape of most of the survivors to Louisiana by way of Santo Domingo furnish the theme of this pathetic story.

But the author's sympathy for the exiles does not prevent his recognition of the perplexing problem posed for the South Carolina authorities by the unexpected arrival of the Acadians. In its most immediate phase the problem was financial. Although at first the Acadians contributed something toward their own support by labor on the fortifications, their financial burden on the colony soon became heavy, expenditures totaling first and last more than twenty-five thousand pounds. The appropriations were grudgingly made. Although Governor Glen, especially, battled heroically in their behalf, Council and Commons House showed much greater willingness to finance deportation than to extend relief. Soon positive orders from the King forbade removal and South Carolina was forced to seek a final solution. Settlement of French Catholics as a group in a back country township was, understandably, not even considered. By the law for distribution the financial problem was shifted to the parishes but there the exiles received hardly more generous treatment than at the hands of the provincial assembly, and a back-to-Charleston movement began.

How many Acadians permanently remained in South Carolina cannot be determined. Dr. Milling shows that during the administration of Governor Glen every encouragement, including financial aid, was given those wishing to migrate. Many joined Acadian parties touching at Charleston in their escape from Georgia. Even after removal was forbidden no real obstacles were placed in the way of those wishing to leave. The author believes that eventually few remained except orphan children bound to service in the parishes. These, he thinks, soon lost the Acadian tradition, merged with the English population, and established families from which descended practically all later South Carolinians of Acadian blood.

*Exile without an End* is in no sense a study in genealogy as only a few prominent Acadian families such as DeTreville and Lanneau receive even brief comment. The appendix lists the names of all individuals and families discovered in the records, however, and it may prove helpful in tracing Acadian descent.

Students of South Carolina history are indebted to both author and publisher for a job well done.

*The Road to Salem.* By Adelaide L. Fries. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944. Pp. x, 316. Illustrations, maps. \$4.00.)

As one of the several German-speaking sects which emigrated to the American colonies during the eighteenth century, the Unity of Brethren, commonly known as the Moravian Church, is mainly associated with the history of Pennsylvania; but it also established an important outpost in North Carolina. In 1753 the Wachovia tract of 98,985 acres, covering about two-thirds of the present Forsyth County, was purchased from Lord Granville, and shortly thereafter the town of Bethabara was founded by a carefully selected group of colonists sent down from Pennsylvania. The towns of Bethania and Salem were founded a few years later, and country congregations were established at Friedberg, Friedland, and Hope. Salem, now a part of Winston-Salem, became and still remains the Moravian center of the South.

Comprising a sort of cultural island in a region otherwise occupied by Indians, frontiersmen, and wild animals, these followers of John Hus attracted much attention as a result of their highly organized community life, their industry and thrift, their skilled craftsmanship, and their frequent and devout religious observances. They were noted for their advanced agricultural practices which within a short time after their arrival in Wachovia were affording ample supplies of flax and hemp, cotton and tobacco, eight kinds of grain, and thirty fruits and vegetables, while their "Medicine Garden" at Bethabara contained over fifty varieties of herbs. Of all colonial Americans the Moravians probably had the most elaborate church music, and the small pipe organ which they imported in 1762 was the first instrument of its kind in western North Carolina. Always emphasizing education, they maintained excellent schools for their youth, including the Salem Female Academy (founded in 1802) which became widely known and extensively patronized throughout the South. As conscientious objectors to war the members of the Unity acquired some ill-will and suffered considerable hardship by their refusal to take up arms during the Revolution, but they appear to have been in sympathy with the Patriot cause which they aided with liberal contributions of money and supplies.

The Moravians were assiduous keepers and preservers of records, one of which serves as the chief basis for *The Road to Salem*. Anna Catharina Antes Kalberlahn Reuter Heinzmann Ernst (1726-1816) came to Wachovia from Pennsylvania as the bride of a doctor in 1758. After his death she remained to marry successively a surveyor and two Moravian pastors, the last of whom she survived for fifteen years. In 1803 she compiled in German an autobiography which, because of her unusual attainments and her varied contacts and responsibilities, affords an intimate insight into life in the Wachovia communities during the forty odd years which it covers. By translating and elaborating Anna Catharina's account with information gained from diaries and other records kept by leaders of the Moravians in Georgia, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina, Miss Fries,

herself a Moravian and Archivist of the Southern Province of the Church, has produced an interesting account of the early development of this unique North Carolina settlement.

Unfortunately the author has not seen fit to indicate what sections of her book are taken directly from Anna Catharina's autobiography, and what is added from other sources. There are no footnotes, nor is any information furnished as to just what other sources were used. The frequent use of direct discourse leaves the reader puzzled as to what extent *The Road to Salem* is to be regarded as real history or as fiction written with a historical background. The latter is explicitly disavowed by the author in her preface with the statement that "Every man, woman, and child actually lived and acted as presented, and with very few exceptions their real names are used, four or five being disguised for obvious reasons." But the historian would welcome some of the apparatus of his craft if this work is to be given a place in serious historical literature. There is no index.

North Carolina State College

JAMES W. PATTON

*East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784.* By Charles Loch Mowat. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943. Pp. ix, 237. Appendices, bibliography. \$2.00.)

There has been a tendency among writers on American history to dwell on the so-called "original" thirteen colonies and to ignore or slight others which were very much a part of the contemporary picture. This volume on one of the hitherto neglected British provinces will meet a real need. It is a fitting climax to the series of articles appearing in various scholarly journals by which Professor Mowat has claimed East Florida in the period indicated as a field of research.

Florida was ceded to England by Spain in the Treaty of Paris, 1763. The British province of East Florida was created by the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763, as a part of the plan for administering the new territory and dealing with the problems which had accrued to Britain from the Seven Years War. It was roughly the area now included in the state of Florida without the panhandle. The administration provided was that of the usual royal province with the notable deviation of an annual support fund provided by Parliament which, significantly enough, made the governor independent of the assembly for his salary and the expenses of colonial administration. An assembly was not convened until 1781, partly because of the primitive conditions which prevailed and partly because the governor feared that such a body would be a means whereby the revolutionary contagion of the North might be spread in the colony. By that date, however, the influx of loyalists insured sentiments favorable to the mother country. Agriculture and commerce gave promise of development but did not reach significant proportions, except that in 1782 the colony contributed nearly one-fourth of the 569,443 pounds of indigo imported by England. East Florida remained loyal to Britain throughout the Revolution only to be retro-

ceded to Spain at the end of the struggle. The English regime did not leave a lasting imprint as most of the British settlers and the loyalists were eventually transported, with their possessions, by the government to other parts of the Empire.

Professor Mowat's book suggests interesting comparisons between East Florida and the twin province of West Florida, also created by the proclamation of 1763, which comprised the southern parts of the present states of Alabama and Mississippi, that part of Louisiana east of the Mississippi (except New Orleans), and the northwestern part of Florida. Both were royal colonies with parliamentary support funds; both were sparsely populated frontier provinces where refinements of living were lacking; both contained sizable military establishments and both were torn by disagreements between the civil governors and the military commanders; both were disturbed by bitter factional strife resulting in the suspension from office (and subsequent restoration by the home government) of the chief justice in each colony; both were useful in the management of Indian affairs, though West Florida was more important in this sphere; both were scenes of land speculation and in both large grants of land to absentees hindered actual settlement; both remained loyal to the mother country during the Revolution and both became popular places of refuge for loyalists from the disaffected colonies—West Florida before 1779 and East Florida in the later period; both were turned over to Spain at the end of the war; and both ultimately became parts of the United States.

Professor Mowat has done a good job. Copious notes and an extensive bibliography attest the thorough character of his investigations. An examination of the Clinton and Howe Papers in the collections of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated—which have perhaps been made available since his research was concluded—might have added a few details to the military side of the picture. Professor Mowat's English background furnishes him with insight into the operation of the British government in the eighteenth century, which he uses to good advantage. Appendices, which make available in condensed form much important information, contain tables of trade and shipping, titles of laws enacted by the assembly, and lists of provincial officials. Students of southern and colonial history will welcome this scholarly monograph.

University of North Carolina

CECIL JOHNSON

*Quebec to Carolina in 1785-1786: Being the Travel Diary and Observations of Robert Hunter, Jr., a Young Merchant of London.* Edited by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling. (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1943. Pp. ix, 393. Map. \$5.00.)

In 1785 Robert Hunter, Jr., the twenty-year-old son of a prominent Scotch merchant of London, was allowed to come to America by his father on the condition that he would keep a diary throughout the journey for paternal reading

on his return. Faithful to the agreement, the son described his experiences while traveling along the St. Lawrence River and Lake Ontario to Niagara Falls and while journeying southward from Boston to Charleston. The diary ends abruptly while young Hunter was in Charleston preparing for a side trip to Savannah before returning to England.

This account is a valuable historical record, because it is by a fairly well-educated young man whose reactions were probably typical of the young folk of his class. Before any satisfactory social or intellectual history can be written about the elusive creature known as the "Common Man" it will be necessary to examine much material by persons who were neither politicians nor orators, editors nor judges, priests nor scholars, but just plain members of their social class. Unfortunately, few persons of this sort have left personal records for the historian.

Through the use of a large supply of letters of introduction, Hunter was able to meet and converse with many of the most prominent men of Canada and the United States. He saw the Indian warrior, Joseph Brant. He talked with loyalists who had fled to Canada. He was shown the campus and museum of Yale College by President Ezra Stiles. He went to parties in New York City with the Roosevelts and a Delano, and he was entertained in the home of the prominent loyalist editor, James Rivington. He admired Philadelphia more than any other city in America and was surprised by the businesslike bustle in Baltimore; but he regarded Richmond as "one of the dirtiest holes of a place I was ever in." He thought that the Virginia planters should have paid their honest debts to British mercantile companies, including the firm of his father, before squandering money on a new capital, especially since they could continue to use public buildings in Williamsburg "with a few repairs."

He was a guest at Mount Vernon on an occasion when Richard Henry Lee was visiting there. Throughout the day Washington was reserved but in the evening "The General with a few glasses of champagne got quite merry, and being with his intimate friends laughed and talked a good deal." After describing the physical appearance, character, habits, and life of Washington at Mount Vernon in considerable detail, Hunter concluded that he was "the first man in the world."

Since he spent the winter at Tappahannock with kinsmen and friends, Hunter's diary contains much material on life among the planters of the Rappahannock River Valley. Here he was entertained by a constant whirl of social affairs—fox hunts, "sumptuous and elegant" dinners, and lively dances—that were attended by the Carters, Randolphs, Tayloes, Byrds, Braxtons, Pages, Fitzhughs, McCalls, Burwells, and many other members of the first families of Virginia. During his entire visit at Tappahannock Hunter did not get a single opportunity to attend a church service. There was no church in Tappannock and no one seemed to associate the Christmas season with the birth of Christ. Occasionally



a sermon by Hugh Blair would be read aloud by some member of the family on a Sunday.

During this winter in Tappahannock Hunter read from the libraries of his friends Pope's *Essay on Man*, Abbe Vertot's *Revolution of Sweden*, the *Connoisseur*, Abbe Vertot's *Revolution of Portugal*, Sterne's *Koran*, and Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws*. Among the other books which he mentioned as favorites of the planter families on quiet days were *Andre's Monody* by Anna Seward, Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric*, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, and Robertson's *History of Scotland*. He found himself among people of charming culture and fell madly in love with his cousin, Catherine McCall, at whose home he was a guest.

This diary has several striking qualities. Its author shows in it no signs of bitterness toward the American leaders in the Revolution. Though several of his British friends had lost their lives on battlefields which he visited, Hunter referred to the British as the enemy on several occasions. It contains too many superlatives, a tendency of the impressionable youth which the historian should consider carefully before he uses material from the account. It embraces the observations of Hunter on a wide range of subjects, such as the taverns and roads, customs and amusements, wheat raising and the Hessian fly, prices and prosperity, sanitation and disease, and the loveliness of the American girls. It would be difficult to conclude from the account given in this diary that the merchants and planters were compelled to work for the establishment of the present federal constitution to save themselves from economic disaster under the loose confederation.

This book is well edited. It has helpful notes on the most important persons and places mentioned in the diary, and it contains an excellent index. It is a work of which the editors and the officials of The Huntington Library have a right to be proud.

East Carolina Teachers College

ROBERT L. HILLDRUP

*Jefferson and the Press*. By Frank L. Mott. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1943. Pp. 65. \$1.00.)

This little volume is the second of the Journalism Monographs published under the auspices of the National Research Council and the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism. In both subject and treatment it sets a high standard for the volumes which are to follow. Written by the outstanding historian of American journalism, it is an informed, judicious, lucid, well-presented essay on Thomas Jefferson's philosophy of the press and his experiences with the newspapers of his day. This subject has received surprisingly little attention. Certain phases of it were discussed a generation ago in articles by Worthington Chauncey Ford and Josephus Daniels. But it has remained for Mr. Mott's little monograph—brief as it is, and based almost entirely on pub-

lished sources—to present the most complete account of Jefferson's relations to a subject of continuing interest and vital importance.

According to Mr. Mott, "Jefferson stands out as the foremost exponent in history of the necessity of a free press in any system of popular or democratic government." Nevertheless, some confusion has arisen as to his views. This confusion, as with Jefferson's views on other matters, has arisen from the polemical zeal and incomplete knowledge of those who seize upon seeming contradictions here and there in his thousands of letters and upon his occasional failure to qualify general statements. The truth is, says Mr. Mott, that Jefferson better than any other writer saw and clearly stated the importance of the press in a democratic society. Throughout his long career he consistently adhered to certain basic principles: The press is essential as an enlightening, educative agency and as a censoring check on government. The press must be free in order to perform its essential work. The only limitations upon it to prevent freedom from becoming license should be the minimum restraints of the libel laws of the several states. It is these fundamental principles, set forth by Jefferson and consistently maintained in spite of gross abuse by partisan newspapers, that form the doctrine of the liberty of the press held by liberal minds today.

After clarifying these basic principles, Mr. Mott briefly recounts Jefferson's relations to the press: his insistence upon a guaranty of the freedom of the press in both state and federal constitutions; his newspaper war with Hamilton conducted through Philip Freneau's *National Gazette*; his courageous fight against the Sedition Act and the aid he gave to the notorious James Thomson Callender, who later turned venomously against him; and his conduct when as President he was subjected to the violent assaults of Federalist editors who scraped the very bottom of scurrility.

During this testing period when Jefferson was in power he conducted himself with dignified restraint, though in private letters then and later he deplored the excesses of a free press in a period when American newspapers reached the lowest ethical ebb in their history. His only effort at defense against licentious attacks was the suggestion that more frequent use might be made of the libel laws of the states. It is significant, also, that while he made use (not always judiciously) of such hard-hitting Republican editors as Freneau, Callender, and William Duane he chose as his champions, when the opportunity offered, such high-minded journalists as Samuel Harrison Smith and Thomas Ritchie. Mr. Mott's admirable essay amply proves that Jefferson, though at times expressing his deep disappointment at the performance, consistently championed the basic principles of a free press. His life-long philosophy of the press is perhaps best summarized in the confident statement written from his retirement at Monticello after the tumults and passions of forty years of politics: "Where the press is free, and every man able to read, all is safe."

*A Bibliography of First Printings of the Writings of Edgar Allan Poe.* Revised edition. Compiled by Charles F. Heartman and James R. Canny. (Hattiesburg, Mississippi: The Book Farm, 1943. Pp. x, 294. \$10.00.)

This Poe bibliography will be a useful reference book for Poe collectors, Poe scholars, and librarians generally. The compilers are primarily specialists in old books; as a result, they are more interested in the physical appearance or the present location of a rare volume than in its content, except as the content is measured by first appearances, printing oddities, and other identifying marks of the first edition. The scholar in American literature and history will find here some miscellaneous nuggets of information about Poe and the magazines of his time; a few previously unpublished letters of slight value; and a convenient record of titles, printers, publishers, dates and place of issue, and collations of early editions. The authors' remarks on spurious Poeana and fake Poeana are frequently vitriolic and diverting, in both senses of the word; they may save unwary collectors and librarians from making some embarrassing purchases.

Arlington, Virginia

EDD WINFIELD PARKS

*Charles DeMorse: Pioneer Editor and Statesman.* By Ernest Wallace. (Lubbock: The Texas Tech Press, 1943. Pp. v, 271. Bibliography. \$3.00.)

A scion of a Massachusetts clan that included the "first American geographer" and the inventor of the telegraph, the subject of this biography decided at the age of nineteen to cast his lot with revolutionary Texas. Captured en route by the British on suspicion of piracy, but honorably acquitted of the charge, the adventurer nonchalantly accepted the name which the detaining officer had mistakenly given him, because DeMorse sounded better.

Eager for action upon his arrival in Texas, and predisposed by no special training, he readily accepted a lieutenancy on the Texan schooner, *Independence*. This position afforded him an opportunity to become acquainted with important revolutionary leaders. He resigned from the marines in the summer of 1836 to become a major in the army which was being raised to repel a threatened Mexican invasion, and later served a few months under Albert Sidney Johnston before abandoning a military for a legal career. In 1838 he entered upon the practice of his new profession in Matagorda, Texas, where he promptly married the daughter of the American consul.

Moving to Austin, the newly established seat of government of the Republic of Texas, in 1839, he became reporter for the lower house of the Texas Congress, editor of a newspaper (probably *The Daily Bulletin*), and stock commissioner under President Mirabeau B. Lamar.

Yielding in 1842 to the urgings of congressmen from the Red River district and to flattering offers of financial aid, DeMorse established *The Northern Standard* in Clarksville, a small, unattractive frontier center of trade and government. In striving to promote the general well-being of his region, the editor

encountered many obstacles: undependable transportation facilities, forcing temporary suspensions of publication; slow and uncertain mail service; high postage rates; and inadequate financial support, causing him to attempt merchandising for a time and occasionally to accept produce in lieu of money.

Undaunted by these difficulties, DeMorse exerted great influence on public opinion for a generation. He favored the annexation of Texas and eagerly welcomed the Mexican War. On the issues over which the North and South drifted into hostile camps, he took a moderate though southern stand, becoming a secessionist only after the "natural associates" of his state had led the way. Though he was favorably impressed with the constitution of the Confederate States, he denounced the failure to submit it to the vote of the electorate. DeMorse supported the war vigorously, inciting men to lend their wealth and offer their lives to their country. Soon tiring of recommending sacrifices which he had not made, he obtained authority to raise a regiment (the Twenty-ninth Texas Cavalry), and then for three years led it with "skill, gallantry, and daring."

After hostilities had ceased, the editor returned to his desk. He counseled prompt approval of presidential reconstruction, concentration on economic recovery, and finally the organization of Democratic clubs and acceptance of Negro suffrage as means of hastening the end of Radical and military control. By 1871 he was again active in politics, serving in the state and national conventions of the Democratic party, twice seeking the governorship, and assisting in framing the state constitution of 1876.

DeMorse retired to his farm in 1873, after having served as the first president of the state press association. He returned to his desk six years later, however, to oppose the sale in unlimited quantities of unappropriated and unclassified public lands at fifty cents an acre. He denounced this policy of Governor Oran M. Roberts, believing it would retard settlement of the West and deprive the permanent school fund of revenue due it. With the inauguration of Governor John Ireland, the prodigal disposition of the public domain was curtailed, and a board, on which DeMorse served, was created to aid in the recovery of land fraudulently acquired.

Though the biographer used the essential materials, chiefly the *Standard*, he might have consulted the unpublished returns of the United States censuses for circulation data. A more exhaustive examination of the newspaper should have resulted in raising the businessman and his community into bolder relief. A good thesaurus and unflinching editing would have removed some ambiguities (pp. 78, 179, for example), violations of chronology, and other literary inelegancies. The compositor made some errors. Mr. Wallace is inaccurate in his statement of Stephen A. Douglas motives for the Kansas-Nebraska Act (pp. 116-17) and in listing D. E. McArthur's study as a doctor's thesis (p. 238). On the whole, however, this is a welcome contribution to our knowledge of a minor but significant Texan.

*The Plain People of the Confederacy.* By Bell Irvin Wiley. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1943. Pp. ix, 104. Illustrations. \$1.50.)

This, the sixth series of the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures at Louisiana State University, measures up to the high standard set by the earlier ones. It is a highly entertaining and, at the same time, penetrating analysis of the life of the formerly neglected common people of the Confederacy. Although the first and third of the lectures are condensations of the author's longer works—*The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy*, and *The Southern Negroes, 1861-1865*—, it is good to have in brief form the essential conclusions of those books. The second of the three lectures on the life of the folk at home is entirely new. The three essays relate to the general theme of the life of the plain people.

There is much similarity in the plan of treatment in the essays, especially in the first two. In analyzing the life of the respective groups, the author surveys the food and clothing shortages, inconveniences, diversions, and morale. The soldiers' health, morals, and relations with their officers, and the Negroes' labor, discipline, and attitudes are added in the second and third respectively.

In the first lecture, Mr. Wiley pictures the common soldier as poorly educated and crude in speech. Contrary to the view sometimes held, the author shows that the Confederate fighter was neither a boy of thirteen to sixteen nor an old man in his sixties, but, in the great majority of cases, his age ranged from eighteen to thirty-five. He did not always relish the army, and, in many cases, went A.W.O.L. or deserted. Nevertheless, his morale remained high despite hardships, scarcity of food, and defeats until, near the end of the war, reports from home broke his spirit.

The second lecture, entitled "The Folk at Home," is based largely on letters, excerpts from many of which, especially those written by the common people to Governor Vance, are quoted. The author reviews the various problems confronting the plain folk on the home front, the steps taken to meet their difficulties, and the effects on the morale of the people. According to Mr. Wiley, not many farmers actually suffered from hunger, although all had to use substitutes for some foods which were formerly a part of their regular diet. In towns and among the poor rural families, however, there was genuine suffering for such necessities as food, clothing, and fuel. These scarcities were caused by a shortage of man power and tools, by inflation and speculation. Various state, city, and private systems of relief were unsuccessfully instituted to aid the destitute. More than any other factor, these shortages, which the common people felt were due to the speculations and greed of the rich planters and merchants and to the inefficiency and favoritism displayed by the government, were responsible for the decline of morale. The results were bread riots, protests, and despondency which produced desertions and, ultimately, defeat. Although the civilian morale began declining after Gettysburg, it was more evident with the suffering which came

in late 1864 and early 1865. In these conclusions, the author makes no startling new discoveries, but he does substantiate former intimations.

In his last lecture, "The Colored Folk," Mr. Wiley emphasizes the differences between the life of the Negroes within the region occupied by Federal troops and those under the Confederates. In the former, Negroes, upon the approach of the Federals, deserted their masters *en masse* despite the Confederate picket lines, home guards, threats, and the influence of the church. Likewise, Negroes in such circumstances became insolent toward the whites, refused to work without pay, and in many cases, resorted to violence.

In the regions held by Confederates, Professor Wiley shows that the Negroes, although less independent than those in Federal lines, were not easily controlled. The women, who in the absence of men had to direct the work, were unable to obtain good results. Some even tried a humanizing policy to relieve the situation. Body servants naturally remained more loyal than the field hands.

The lectures are in the main objective and free from moralizing, although the author does raise some interesting questions. He doubts, for instance, if the method of settling the slavery issue in 1865 was for the best interest of whites and blacks. He also reminds Southerners that they may be as ignorant of the Negroes' thoughts today as their ancestors were in 1861-1865.

The essays are written in a clear and forceful style which makes for good and rapid reading. The reviewer observed no factual or typographical errors. Like most such printed lectures, the volume has neither footnotes nor an index. It does, however, include three pertinent illustrations.

Birmingham-Southern College

HENRY T. SHANKS

*History of Wake Forest College*. Volume II, 1865-1905; Volume III, 1905-1943. By George Washington Paschal. (Wake Forest, North Carolina: Wake Forest College, 1943. Pp. viii, 532; vi, 539. Illustrations, appendices.)

The first volume of the *History of Wake Forest College*, covering the period between the establishment of Wake Forest Institute in 1834 and the suspension of college exercises in the second year of the Civil War, was published in 1935 (*Journal of Southern History*, II, 525-26). The trustees of the institution then requested the author to continue the work. This he did, originally selecting the year 1927 as the terminal date but later deciding to bring the account down to September, 1943. The results of his efforts are now presented in these additional volumes, with the year 1905, the beginning of the notable administration of President William Louis Poteat, serving in general as a dividing line between the two. It would be difficult to imagine a more exhaustive treatment of Wake Forest's history than that contained in the eighteen hundred pages of these three volumes.

At the close of the Civil War, students and faculty were dispersed; the college building, once acclaimed the best of its kind in North Carolina, was being used as a soldiers' hospital, and an endowment of \$50,000 had been reduced to a small fraction of that amount. Nevertheless, steps were quickly taken toward reviving the institution, and on January 15, 1866, classes were reorganized with seventeen students enrolled in the collegiate courses and thirty-four in a preparatory department which though previously abandoned was now thought, in view of the disruption of many secondary schools, to be a necessary adjunct. The first commencement of the post-war years was held in 1868.

The progress of the College during the reconstruction period was unexpectedly encouraging. Its fortunes continued to be guided by capable Dr. Washington Manley Wingate, who had been elected to the presidency several years before the War. With some help from northern Baptists the endowment was increased, an additional building was begun, and by 1879 the students in the college classes numbered 117. During the administration of President Charles Elisha Taylor (1884-1905) the foundations of the modern college were laid. Liberal arts continued to receive major emphasis, but schools of law and medicine were introduced with substantial, if not spectacular, results. The choice of presidents in later years was fortunate, bringing into the service of the institution such able scholars and administrators as Poteat (1905-1927), Francis Pendleton Gaines (1927-1930), and the present incumbent, Thurman Delna Kitchin (1930- ). Under their guidance Wake Forest has steadily maintained its position as one of the best small colleges in the southern states. Like other schools, its program has been seriously interrupted by the Second World War. An eleventh-hour decision to admit women students did not solve its problem, and the college facilities are now being mainly used by an Army Finance School; but trustees and faculty are looking forward to a period of greater usefulness in its normal sphere when the War is over.

For those who have been, or will be, connected with Wake Forest there is much of interest in these volumes. The information which they contain should also be of great value in planning for the future. But the general historian will probably find the chief significance in the record of the struggle of a denominational college to hold its ground against the rising tide of secular education. Fearing the competition of the University of North Carolina, after that institution had escaped the carpetbagger regime, the Wake Forest Baptists at first united with the Presbyterians of Davidson College and the Methodists of Trinity in opposing state appropriations, but with the high schools yearly increasing their output of graduates this policy was finally abandoned. When anti-evolution sentiment swept through the South in the 1920's Wake Forest's position was particularly vulnerable, for in President Poteat the College had a biologist who subscribed to the Darwinian theory. Happily, Poteat held to his views and, in the end, had no small part in preventing the passage of an anti-evolution law by the North Carolina legislature.

Professor Paschal has completed his history with the same meticulous attention to detail and with the same thoroughness in examining the multitudinous records of the institution as he exercised in preparing the first volume. From one who is a graduate of Wake Forest (Class of 1892) and who has been a member of its department of Latin and Greek for almost half a century, a higher degree of objectivity could hardly have been expected. Some confusion could have been avoided by a more orderly arrangement of the materials, but this defect has been largely offset by a separate index to each volume. All things considered, it is fortunate that the idea of a history of Wake Forest was conceived and that its author has been able to see it through.

College of Charleston

JAMES H. EASTERBY

*Edward Douglas White, Chief Justice of the United States.* By Sister Marie Carolyn Klinkhamer. (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1943. Pp. viii, 308. Appendix, bibliography. \$3.25.)

Although this is the third doctoral dissertation which has been written on the career of Edward Douglas White, it is the first to be published. It is a welcome addition to a number of printed essays and pamphlets on various phases of his work which have hitherto constituted the scholarly literature concerning him. But this is not a biography of White; it is a book dealing with his judicial decisions during his twenty-seven years of service, first as Associate Justice (1894-1910) and then as Chief Justice (1910-1921), in the United States Supreme Court. It might have been better, therefore, to have given it some such title as "The Judicial Opinions of Edward Douglas White," and thus to put the reader in a proper frame of mind to appreciate the methodology of a legalistic approach rather than have him expect a study of the man himself.

Four of the six chapters—approximately sixty per cent of the actual text—are devoted to the analysis and discussion of the court decisions in which White participated, and an appendix of fifty-one pages supplies interesting and useful information on such matters as the division of the Court on cases decided during White's service, and on the cases in which he wrote either the majority or a dissenting opinion. Incidentally, the number of these opinions, and their total in terms of pages not only attest his industry but also show that his participation in preparing decisions did not decrease after he became the presiding member of the Court.

The chapters dealing with his decisions classify the cases under four heads: "Administrative Law"; "Procedure, Jurisdiction, and International Law"; "Property"; and "The Due Process Clauses." The author has done an excellent job of analyzing the decisions, but the very nature of such a discussion renders it ponderous, if not cumbersome and dry to the average reader. A more experienced craftsman would probably have digested or paraphrased many of the long direct quotations which are presented here. Few errors of fact were noticed, but



attention should be called to at least two. On page 4, James White is mentioned as "having been elected to the Continental Congress for North Carolina in May of that year," referring to the year 1786. On page 19, the subject of this study is reported as elected to the Louisiana senate in 1874 for a two-year term, "where he delivered a celebrated speech praising the regime of Governor Francis T. Nicholls, and castigating that of his predecessor," when, as a matter of record, Nicholls was not elected governor of Louisiana until November, 1876, and did not gain control of the governor's office until Federal troops were withdrawn from the state about the end of April, 1877.

On the whole, the treatment is scholarly, the style is clear and understandable, and the book is a distinct contribution to the literature on the first Associate Justice to be elevated to the Chief Justiceship. The index is adequate, and a ten-page bibliography shows that the author has been diligent in her research.

Louisiana Polytechnic Institute

GARNIE W. MCGINTY

*I Can Go Home Again.* By Arthur Gray Powell. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1943. Pp. 301. \$3.00.)

Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, Garnett Andrews, Absalom H. Chappell, and others have written delightful sketches of Georgia people in varying eras and localities. These smack strongly of autobiography and reminiscence and they have sprung largely from that urge to write which comes to men in their old age. Judge Powell's book is a worthy addition to this particular genus of Georgianiana.

The author has contributed—perhaps somewhat unwittingly—a social study of Southwest Georgia, centering around Blakely, the principal town of Early County. This region has long stood apart from the main currents of Georgia life. Nestled between the Flint and the Chattahoochee rivers, it faces neither Middle Georgia nor Alabama but southward toward the pine barrens and the Gulf where it found its earliest trade outlets. It was opened for settlement in the late 1820's. Into the area there poured a lusty and vigorous population composed principally of yeoman farmers and slaves of absentee masters. It was a fertile region, yet interspersed with sand, river swamps, and piney woods, it gave a peculiar character to the inhabitants. The author calls them "an original people," wholly indigenous to the area.

While the interpretation of the culture of this locality seems somewhat conservative in places, it has all the earmarks of sincerity. The book abounds in courthouse anecdotes and it possesses a realism which might prove distasteful to a few discriminating readers. One is subjected to the ordeal of a public hanging, the intimate details of a childbirth, and a few lynching sprees. A new note of mystery is introduced in the discussion of one of Georgia's most famous criminal episodes—the Leo Frank case. Incidentally, the mystery is left unan-

swered. Whether describing the Negro church festival at Sugar Tit, the trial of a bigamist, or the ribaldry of bewhiskered electors at a local political gathering, the author minces no words which might detract from a faithful rendering of the account. Rustic humor, native wit, urbane conversation, tragedy, and pathos conspire to make the account as paradoxical as the region which it describes. Yet there is unmistakable charm in the book and in the region.

The non-Southerner may find here many short cuts to an understanding of the South's unorthodoxy. While the author denies the existence of a Negro problem in Southwest Georgia, his book hardly sustains the thesis. The great number of black men and women who file in and out of his court room suggest an ill-adjustment of the Negro to the organized society of the white minority which ruled him. But the white man's court was not altogether ruthless and unsympathetic. It was a sort of *praetor peregrinus* for the ex-slave, and it was not always Anglo-Saxon or Roman law which formed the basis for his legal justice. One might experience revulsion at the action of a local magistrate who tacitly consented to the whipping of a Negro prostitute in lieu of a chain-gang sentence, but he could hardly question the practical wisdom of judge-made laws when a complete understanding of all background factors are included. The author suggests that he might feel constrained to defend in the interest of justice the custom of using all-white juries in the trial of Negroes. Early in his legal career he learned never to take a Negro on a jury to try a Negro defendant. Like a schoolboy, the black man seems to "take a delight in seeing one of his fellows get a licking."

The names of many Georgians, with pertinent biographical data, are to be found in this story. Some may well be subjects for future historical sketches. The fame of most of them, however, died a-borning on the pages of the Judge's book. There are some instances of the use of fictitious names, but the context justifies this practice in the few places where it occurs.

The sociologist will find the book more valuable than will the general historian, and any layman will find it exceedingly readable. This reviewer is inclined to generosity toward that tobacco-chewing generation to which the author belongs and about which he has written. He has the historian's appreciation for the type of "powder-monkeying," to use Professor Jameson's apt phrase, which is presented here with skill and fidelity. But he must file a demurrer on the grounds that the book contains no index. Any lawyer should know the value of an index and any lawyer's secretary should be able to do the job creditably. This book deserves one.

Randolph-Macon Woman's College

JAMES C. BONNER

## Historical News and Notices

The Executive Council of the Southern Historical Association has voted by postal ballot to accept an invitation from Vanderbilt University, George Peabody College for Teachers, and the Tennessee Historical Society to hold the next annual meeting of the Association in Nashville early in November, 1944. Stanley F. Horn, president of the Tennessee Historical Society, and Daniel M. Robison, Vanderbilt University, have been named as co-chairmen of the committee on local arrangements and the other members of that committee will be announced later. The committee on program, of which Fletcher M. Green, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, is chairman, will welcome suggestions from members concerning either broad themes for the sessions or individual papers that may be available.

Dean Wendell H. Stephenson announces the appointment of the following persons to serve as the Committee on Membership of the Southern Historical Association for 1944: Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky, chairman; William O. Lynch, Indiana University; Maude H. Woodfin, University of Richmond; James B. Ranck, Hood College; Henry H. Simms, Ohio State University; Henry T. Shanks, Birmingham-Southern College; Samuel M. Wilson, Lexington, Kentucky; S. Walter Martin, University of Georgia; Oscar S. Dooley, Millsaps College; Ottis C. Skipper, Louisiana State Normal College; Ernest W. Winkler, University of Texas; Verton M. Queener, Maryville College; James H. Easterby, College of Charleston; Thomas S. Staples, Hendrix College; Dorothy Dodd, Tallahassee, Florida; Avery O. Craven, University of Chicago; Clement Eaton, Lafayette College; and Lewis E. Atherton, University of Missouri.

### PERSONAL

Robert Douthat Meade, professor of history at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Virginia, has received the Southern Authors Award for 1943, for his biography, *Judah P. Benjamin, Confederate Statesman*, published by the Oxford University Press in July. This award of \$100 is made each year by the Southern Women's National Democratic Organization in New York to the southern author who is judged to have written the most distinguished book on a southern subject during the year. Honorable mention was given to Bell Irvin Wiley for *The Life of Johnny Reb*, Branch Cabell and A. J. Hanna for

*The St. Johns*, Jesse Stuart for *Taps for Private Tussie*, Ellen Glasgow for *A Certain Measure*, and Harnett T. Kane for *The Bayous of Louisiana*.

Henry Lee Swint of Vanderbilt University, editorial associate of the *Journal of Southern History*, has been granted a leave of absence for service in the Army, and is now connected with the Historical Division of the Army Air Forces in Washington. His work on the *Journal* will be carried on by Mrs. Swint during his absence.

Others who are now in military service include: Elmer Ellis of the University of Missouri; Norman W. Caldwell of the College of the Ozarks; and Bingham Duncan and J. Harvey Young of Emory University.

The following new appointments have been announced: G. Leighton LaFuze, formerly of Stetson University, to be assistant professor of history at the University of Florida; Kathleen Bruce, formerly state director of the Virginia Historical Records Survey, to be professor of history at Newcomb College, New Orleans; Harry J. Sarkiss, formerly of Florida State College for Women, to be professor of history at Howard College, Birmingham; and Wallace M. True, a doctoral graduate of Harvard University, to be assistant professor of history at Florida State College for Women.

At the University of Florida, Rembert W. Patrick and Paul L. Hanna have been promoted to the rank of associate professor, and at Duke University, Theodore Ropp has been made assistant professor of history.

Summer school appointments for 1944 include, Paul H. Clyde, Duke University, to teach at Stanford University; John Tate Lanning, Duke University, to teach at the University of Utah; and Rosser H. Taylor, Furman University, to teach at Wofford College.

J. Carlyle Sitterson, of the University of North Carolina, has been given a leave of absence for work with the War Production Board.

Mrs. Kathryn Abbey Hanna has been elected chairman of the Florida State Library Board.

The Archivist of the United States has announced the appointment to the staff of Morris Kemp, formerly the Director of Libraries, University of Kansas City, Missouri. Hermann F. Robinton, Supervisor of Public Records of the State of New York, has been designated to serve as a field consultant of the National Archives. Members of the staff who have recently been transferred to do records management or research work in other government agencies include Adeline V. Barry, Robert G. Ballentine, Robert H. Bahmer, Max Levin, George O. Reeves, and Adolph Rothman. Lewis J. Darter, Jr., has recently entered on active duty in the Navy.

The University of Texas will conduct a Field School from June 14 to August 8 in Mexico City in collaboration with the School of Philosophy and Letters and the Summer School for Foreign Students of the National University of Mexico. Members of the history department who will participate in this work are: Charles W. Hackett, E. Merton Coulter, Henry Nash Smith, and Carlos E. Castañeda. Courses will be given on the history of the United States, the history of South America, the Spanish borderlands, and American social and cultural history.

Ida Minerva Tarbell, best known for her writings on Abraham Lincoln, died on January 6 at the age of eight-six. In addition to her *Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1900) and numerous other books on Lincoln, she wrote *History of the Standard Oil Company* (1904), *Life of Judge Gary* (1925), and *The Nationalizing of Business* (1936).

Lester Burrell Shippee, professor of history at the University of Minnesota, died on February 9. He was best known for his *Recent American History* (1924, 1930) and his writings on United States-Canadian relations, but his editing of *Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary* (1937) made an important contribution to the history of the South. He served as managing editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for a time, and was president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in 1934-1935.

Herbert Ingram Priestley, professor of Mexican history and curator of the Bancroft Library at the University of California, died on February 10 at the age of sixty-nine. While his main field of interest was the history of Mexico, he published several books which had a bearing on the Spanish activities in the southeastern part of the United States, among them being *José de Galvez* (1916), *The Luna Papers* (1928), *The Coming of the White Man* (1929), and *Tristan de Luna, Conquistador* (1936).

James Boyd, of Southern Pines, North Carolina, whose novels encompassed a great part of America's history and traditions, died on February 25 at Princeton, New Jersey, where he had gone to fill a lecture engagement. Although a native of Pennsylvania, he had lived in North Carolina since boyhood. After graduating from Princeton University in 1910, he studied at Cambridge University, England, and following military service in World War I, he turned to the writing of historical novels. He was the author of *Drums* (1925), a story of the southern phase of the American Revolution; *Marching On* (1927), a novel of the Civil War; *Long Hunt* (1930), based on frontier life; *Roll River* (1935), a story of four generations in a river town; and *Bitter Creek* (1939), on the West of the 1870's.

Mary Wilhelmine Williams, professor emeritus of history at Goucher College, died on March 10, at the age of sixty-five. A member of the history de-

partment at Goucher from 1915 until her retirement in 1940, she was a recognized authority on Latin American history.

William Oscar Payne, professor of history at the University of Georgia, died on March 24 at the age of sixty-five. He received the A. B. degree from the University of Georgia in 1900 and the M. A. degree in 1902, and after a year of graduate study at Harvard University returned to Georgia as instructor in history. In 1919 he became professor of history and served continuously in that capacity until a few months before his death, when ill health forced him to become inactive. His special field was English history.

#### HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

In honor of the fiftieth anniversary of its founding, the Columbia Historical Society arranged a special exhibit in connection with its meeting of April 12, 1944, at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington. The exhibit, consisting largely of items from the Society's collection, included photographic views, guide books, and directories of early Washington; significant manuscript materials; rare books and pamphlets; and portraits of men prominent in the history of the city.

The Society has recently issued as a preprint from the forthcoming volume of its *Records* a brochure entitled, *The Illustrations in the Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Volumes 1-42/43, 1897-1942; A Subject Index* (Washington: The Society, 1944, pp. 37, \$1.00), compiled by Newman F. McGirr.

The Florida Historical Society has recently received a scrap-book, the first entries of which date back to 1841. It includes numerous biographical sketches and obituary notices of Floridians of the territorial period. The Society has also received on loan bound volumes of the Auburn (New York) *Banner* for the years 1837-1839, containing numerous items on the progress of the Seminole War in Florida.

Papers presented at the monthly meetings of the Tennessee Historical Society include: "Notes on the Theater in Nashville, 1870-1900," by Charles Mitchell; "Andrew Jackson at Home," by Stanley F. Horn; and "Highlights in the History of the Cumberland River," by Mary Stahlman Douglas.

At the annual meeting of the board of directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society on January 27, the following officers were elected for 1944: Robert L. Williams, president; Thomas H. Doyle, president emeritus; Emma Estill-Harbour and William S. Key, vice-presidents; James W. Moffitt, secretary; Jessie R. Moore, treasurer; and Grant Foreman, director of historical research.

At the March meeting of the Historical Association of Southern Florida Reinhold P. Wolff of the University of Miami, gave a paper on "The Economic Development of South Florida since 1900" and Judge Halsted L. Ritter spoke on "The Beginnings of Coconut Grove Library."

The program of the eighth annual meeting of the Florida Academy of Sciences held at the University of Florida in December, included the following papers of historical interest: "The American Way of Life," by Lucius M. Bristol, of the University of Florida; "Zora Hurston," by Mrs. Lottie M. Clark, of Jacksonville; and "Economic Expansion up the St. John's River," by Alfred J. Hanna, Rollins College. Professor Hanna was elected chairman of the Social Science section for the year 1944.

Two recent programs of the East Tennessee Historical Society have dealt with the history of early educational institutions of that region. At the March meeting Stanley J. Folmsbee of the University of Tennessee presented a paper on "East Tennessee College, 1807-1840," and in April, Laura E. Luttrell of the Lawson McGhee Library discussed "The East Tennessee Female Institute and the Knoxville Female Seminary."

The St. Augustine Historical Society is preparing for publication a document entitled "Rules and Regulations of the Royal Hospitals, 1766," which is in its manuscript collection and which has already excited much interest among members of the medical profession who have had opportunity to learn something of its contents. At the recent annual meeting of the Society the following officers were elected for 1944: David R. Dunham, president; X. L. Pellicer, vice-president; Mrs. F. S. Vaill, secretary; Otis Barnes, treasurer; and J. T. Van Campen, librarian.

Lester J. Cappon, University of Virginia, is chairman of the Committee on State and Local War Records, of the American Association for State and Local History. This committee, consisting of Lewis Beeson, John Clement, Glenn H. Lathrop, Roy F. Nichols, and William D. Overman, is doing promotional work and serving as a clearing house of information in connection with the collection of state and local war records throughout the nation. Over half the states have special projects in operation for this purpose. In many others, historical societies and other agencies are engaged in this activity on a part-time basis. The committee has launched a mimeographed four-page monthly bulletin, *The War Records Collector*, the first number of which appeared in March.

A survey of "War Records Projects in the States, 1941-1943," by Dr. Cappon has been published as a *Bulletin* (Vol. I, No. 8, March, 1944) of the American Association for State and Local History.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

Recent accessions of the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History include a large quantity of loose material and approximately 175 volumes of Stokes County material, consisting of the minutes of the pleas and quarter sessions court, minutes of the superior court, minutes of the board of county commissioners, marriage records, inventories, administrators' bonds,

guardians' accounts and bonds, settlements of estates, and other miscellaneous records, covering the period from 1790 to 1931. The Department has also obtained a photostat copy of a manuscript map, entitled: "State of North Carolina, Bertie County . . . Plan of the Lands allotted to the Tuscorora [*sic*] nation of Indians, the bounds of which are expressed in an Act of the General Assembly of the State aforesaid Passed in the year 1748, and which are as follows, viz, . . . Containing Fortyone [*sic*] Thousand, one hundred & thirteen Acres the Subdivisions Represent the Several Leases which appears to have been obtained from the said Indians, Subsequent to the 12 day of July 1766 & Prior to the first day of December 1777 . . . Certified under my Hand this 17th of June 1803. W. H. Boyce Surveyor."

Other maps recently acquired include a "Sketch showing position of Observatory at Raleigh, N. C., with regard to Capitol Building," and several printed maps of North Carolina ranging in date from 1833 to 1867.

The Alderman Library, University of Virginia, has recently acquired an interesting collection of John Randolph of Roanoke papers. Included are 346 holograph letters which are especially revealing because they comprise a two-way correspondence between John Randolph and James Mercer Garnett, his friend and political ally. The letters cover the significant period of Randolph's political career, 1806-1832, and discuss agriculture, county politics, and national issues. There are 211 letters from Randolph and 132 to him, in addition to two political broadsides, one by Garnett, in 1809, at the end of his political career, and one by Randolph in 1812 attacking Speaker Henry Clay. A manuscript volume, being copies of speeches of John Randolph in Congress, 1805-1810, on such topics as the Yazoo claims, impeachment of Judge Samuel Chase, the death of General Washington, and the American Navy, has also been added to the Library's collection. These speeches, apparently recorded by Randolph's secretary, contain much material that was suppressed or omitted when they were published.

Among recent acquisitions of the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina are considerable additions to the Colston, Anderson, Thornwell, David L. Swain, Nathan Shotwell, Jeremy F. Gilmer, Edmund Kirby-Smith, William A. Hoke, Anne H. Broun Singleton, John London, John Kimberly, and Mordecai collections. New collections acquired include the Civil War letters of George Knox Miller, C. S. A. (1836-1916), of Alabama; a diary, 1821-1822, of the Reverend Daniel Penick of Virginia, the manuscript of a play written by him, and an undated diary of his wife, Agnes A. Tinsley Penick; a collection of letters of Miriam Gratz Moses, containing many letters of Rebecca Gratz; a genealogical scrap-book relating to the Wright, Hicks, Hayes, and Elcan families of Tennessee; an autobiographical memoir of Berry Benson, C. S. A. (1843-1923) of South Carolina and North Carolina; the minute book of the Rowan County (North Carolina) Historical Society; books



of the Pactolus Iron Works of Tennessee, kept by Elihu Embree; a large collection of scrap-books and papers of Sallie Southall Cotten (1846-1929) of North Carolina; a diary, 1861-1862, of Dr. Charles C. Gray, Assistant Surgeon, U.S.A., dealing with his imprisonment in Libby and Castle Pinckney; fourteen volumes of the diary of Wilhelmina Lea of Caswell County, North Carolina, with a genealogical note book and a small volume of reminiscences; the Civil War diary and letters of Major R. Channing Price, C.S.A., of Virginia; scrap-book of Judge John V. Wright (1828-1908), member of Congress, Federal and Confederate, of Tennessee; a large collection of the papers of Benjamin C. Yancey (b. 1817) of Alabama and Georgia; the Theodore D. Morrison papers, chiefly concerning the Davidson and Morrison families of North Carolina; a large collection of papers of Eugene C. Branson (1861-1933), university professor, rural economist, and author, of North Carolina and Georgia; a volume of military notes on the Revolution by William R. Davie (1756-1820), Revolutionary colonel, member of the Federal Convention, governor of North Carolina, brigadier general, U.S.A., and envoy to France; a collection of papers of B. B. McKenzie, C.S.A., member of the Alabama secession convention; the Civil War letters of Colonel Theodore O. Stark, C.S.A., of Mississippi; six volumes of miscellaneous genealogical material relating to the Moore family of North Carolina; a collection of letters of the LeConte and Furman families of South Carolina, Georgia, and California; medical records of Dr. Thomas J. Wilson of Pennsylvania and North Carolina; the Civil War reminiscences of Major Joseph B. Cumming, C.S.A., of Georgia; the Hope Summerell Chamberlain papers, relating chiefly to the Mitchell family of North Carolina; three volumes of day-books, 1836-1860, of the McGilvray store in Augusta County, Virginia; the Hobbs-Mendenhall papers, including a diary of Nereus Mendenhall, of Guilford County, North Carolina; the Tucker papers, consisting chiefly of the letters and other papers of John Randolph Tucker (1823-1897), member of Congress, and Harry St. George Tucker (1853-1932), member of Congress, of Lexington, Virginia, but including numerous letters of Colonel William Preston Johnston, C.S.A. (1831-1899); a collection of papers of General Armistead L. Long, C.S.A. (1825-1891); a collection of papers relating to the Wooley, King, and Couper families of Georgia; a letter-book, 1892, of H. H. Green of Pennsylvania and West Virginia; a diary and scrap-book of Joseph M. Kern, C.S.A., of Virginia and Mississippi; a collection of papers of the Click family of Forsyth County, North Carolina; a collection of letters of the Bulloch family of Georgia; the Curry papers, chiefly genealogical, relating primarily to the Henckel and allied families of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina, but including genealogical studies of many other families; the papers of Mrs. Gilmer Brenizer, chiefly relating to the Waddell and allied families of North Carolina; the Phillips papers, including those of Philip Phillips (1807-1884), member of Congress from Alabama, an eminent lawyer, and his sons, Philip Lee Phillips (1857-1924), distinguished cartographer, and William Hallett Phillips (1853-1897),

publicist; the Margaret Dashiell papers, a large collection of manuscripts, prints, drawings, and paintings; and the papers of James Mathews Griggs (1861-1910), Georgia Judge and Congressman.

Photostatic, microfilm, or typed copies of the following were made: thirteen volumes of material relating to the Bryan and Minor families of Georgia and Virginia; a collection of letters of Margaret Mordecai Devereux of North Carolina; letters of the Gunter and Poellnitz families of Alabama; the journal of the constitutional convention of the Provisional Government of Florida, 1819; six volumes, 1817-1860, of the books of White Hill Plantation, Dinwiddie County, Virginia; three volumes and some miscellaneous sheets of the diary of Dr. Robert Wellford of Fredericksburg, Virginia; the Civil War reminiscences of Major John Cheves Haskell, C.S.A., of South Carolina; certain papers of General Matt W. Ransom, C.S.A.; a collection of papers of the Garnett and Wise families of Virginia; the diary of James L. Dusenberry of North Carolina, while a student at the University of North Carolina; a volume of Civil War letters of James P. Williams, C.S.A., of Virginia; the Civil War letters of Maxwell T. Clarke, of Virginia; a fragmentary diary of Caleb Coker; and a scrap-book chiefly concerning the career of William Henry Wallace (1827-1901), speaker of the Hampton legislature of 1876-1877, of South Carolina.

The South Caroliniana Library of the University of South Carolina received gifts of manuscript materials amounting to about 6,500 pieces during the year 1943. Included are: 3,000 letters and papers of the late President of the Society, State Chief Justice Milledge L. Bonham; seven letters and papers of John C. Calhoun, 1812-1848; two letters of Thomas Cooper, 1810 and 1836; five letters of Rev. Richard Furman, 1800-1816; a letter of Baron Alexander von Humboldt to Francis Lieber at the South Carolina College; a letter of Robert E. Lee to General M. L. Bonham, 1861; three letters of Francis Marion, 1782; three letters of William Gilmore Simms, 1849, 1855, and the third undated.

Among newspaper gifts are the *Camden Gazette*, April, 1816-April, 1819. Through joint purchase by the University and members of the University South Caroliniana Society the Library likewise acquired the very valuable file of York (South Carolina) papers, consisting of the *Pioneer*, August, 1823-January, 1824, the *Compiler*, June, 1840-June, 1841, and the *Yorkville Enquirer*, 1856 to 1930.

A copy of Waldo's *Dictionary Spelling Book* (Georgetown, S. C., 1818), and three textbooks of Confederate authorship and print—Dr. Samuel Lander's *Verbal Primer* (Greensboro, N. C., 1865); his *Primary Arithmetic* (Greensboro, 1863); and his *School Arithmetic* (Greensboro, 1863)—were also presented.

Recent additions to the manuscript collection of the Maryland Historical Society include: the Shriver papers, consisting of several thousand letters and account books dealing with many phases of the social and economic life of Baltimore, Carroll County, and western Maryland; the accounts of the Besore store (Waynesboro, Pennsylvania) with Baltimore firms of the period from 1820 to 1860;

letters written by Robert Lemmon during the campaign in Virginia, 1861-1862; four scrap-books containing clippings from church papers, 1861-1865, which show the attitude of various sects toward slavery, secession, and the progress of the War; a journal kept by Midshipman Edward Simpson while serving on United States naval vessels, 1840-1843; a large collection of manuscript volumes compiled by Benjamin F. Dashiell, including eight volumes on "Somerset Colonial Families," four volumes of "Chronicles of Somerset County, 1630-1937," and others on the history and records of several old Eastern Shore churches; and a collection of letters of the Grundy and Gibson families of Baltimore, 1783-1840.

Records relating to military affairs now constitute over a third of the records in the National Archives. They were greatly increased recently by the transfer from the Adjutant General's Office of records of the War Department and the Army, 1912-1922, primarily for the period of the first World War, including general Departmental files; records of the American Section of the Supreme War Council; records of the American Expeditionary Forces, among which are records of AEF General Headquarters, AEF Services of Supply Headquarters at Paris and Tours, and the First, Second, and Third Armies; and records of the Polish Relief, the North Russia, and the Mexican Punitive Expeditions. A microfilm copy of a calendar prepared by the Historical Branch of the Army War College of some 30,000 documents in the files of the War Department relating to the first World War, 1917-1919, was also received. Other accessions from the Department include records of Headquarters of the Departments of the Platte and the Missouri and of the Fort Omaha Quartermaster, 1866-1919; records relating to the Military Academy at West Point, 1867-1904; correspondence of the Engineer Chief's Office, 1894-1923, and maps, 1880-1942, of the Army Map Service of that Office; and records of general courts martial, 1930-1938.

Of note among other accessions are records of the Spanish regime in Puerto Rico, 1750-1898, transferred from the Library of Congress; records of the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1789-1926; records of the Washington office of the Panama Canal, including records of the Maritime Canal Company, the Nicaragua Canal Commission, and the Isthmian Canal Commission, 1897-1901; general correspondence, 1912-1925, of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, Navy Department; and general files, 1914-1937, of the Bureau of Prisons, Justice Department.

Among a number of studies now being made at the National Archives to obtain adequate data for post-war planning is a survey of medical records of the Federal Government designed to determine what types or groups of records are essential to future medical research and accordingly what should be preserved. This study is a joint venture of the Division of Medical Sciences of the National Research Council and the National Archives and is being financed with a grant

from the John and Mary R. Markle Foundation. The survey is being conducted by personnel of the National Archives under the general direction of the Archivist. An advisory committee composed of representatives of several agencies of the Government and private medical authorities, with Dr. George W. Corner of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, as chairman, will make recommendations, based on the survey, to the Archivist and to the National Research Council.

One of the recent publications of the National Archives is *The National Archives—What It Is and What It Does*. Copies are available upon request so long as the supply lasts.

The Western Historical Manuscripts Collection of the University of Missouri has issued a bulletin listing the material assembled since its establishment at the beginning of 1943, and indicating the types of materials which it desires to obtain. The manuscripts now in the possession of the Collection include letters and diaries of pioneer settlers, travelers, ministers, physicians, soldiers, farmers, and lawyers of Missouri and the central Mississippi Valley region; account books of merchants, bankers, educators, farmers, millers, and druggists; and minute books of pioneer societies.

The recent acquisitions of the University of Missouri Library include a collection of more than 500 seventeenth century British pamphlets; about 200 American gift books and annuals published between the 1820's and 1850's; and a small collection of about 100 dime novels of the Nick Carter and Deadwood Dick series. Of special significance are the British pamphlets which were issued during the period when the pamphlet was coming into its own as a weapon in religious and political controversies. Many of them relate to the church and in particular to the Papists, but most of the major issues of the last half of the seventeenth century receive attention in one or more of these pamphlets.

Among the newspaper files added in the original or on microfilm during the past several months are the *London Times*, 1785-1860 (completing the Library's file); *New York Herald-Tribune*, 1841-1913; *Washington Evening Star*, 1852-1914; *Le Temps*, Paris, 1861-1917; and runs of several eighteenth century American newspapers.

Julian P. Boyd, Librarian of Princeton University, who has been named editor of the projected definitive edition of the writings and correspondence of Thomas Jefferson (see *Journal of Southern History*, February, 1944, pp. 124-25), announces that the enterprise contemplates the publication of all letters, memoranda, account books, commonplace books, legal opinions, addresses, and miscellaneous papers of Jefferson, together with his public and other writings, such as the *Notes on the State of Virginia* and the garden book. The edition will also include listings, summaries, or full printings of letters to Jefferson.

An appeal is being made to archivists, librarians, scholars, collectors, and dealers to co-operate with the enterprise by notifying the editor of the existence

of isolated documents, to the end that the edition may be as complete as possible. It is hoped, therefore, that readers of *The Journal of Southern History* will send to Mr. Boyd any information they may have about archival or manuscript collections containing Jefferson documents or items of Jefferson interest, particularly those privately owned.

*Doctoral Dissertations Accepted by American Universities, 1942-1943* (New York: The H. W. Wilson Co., 1943), lists the following subjects in southern history: "The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565 to 1763," by Verne E. Chate-lain (at the University of Minnesota); "Major General Nathanael Greene and the Southern Campaign of the American Revolution, 1780-1783," by Clara G. Roe (at the University of Michigan); "Thomas Jefferson, War Governor of Virginia," by Adolph F. Meisen (at the University of North Carolina); "The Neutral Ground between Louisiana and Texas, 1806-1821," by J. Villasano Haggard (at the University of Texas); "The Territorial Period of Florida, 1819-1845," by S. Walter Martin (at the University of North Carolina); "Trinity College, 1839-1892: The Beginnings of Duke University," by Nora C. Chaffin (at Duke University); "A Life of J. D. B. DeBow," by Ottis C. Skipper (at Harvard University); "South Carolina and National Politics, 1852-1860: A Study of the Movement for Southern Independence," by Harold Schultz (at Duke University); "The Woman's Rights Movement in Tennessee," by A. Elizabeth Taylor (at Vanderbilt University); "Post City: A Study in Colonization on the Texas Plains," by Charles D. Eaves (at the University of Texas).

With its issue of January, 1944, the *William and Mary Quarterly* inaugurated its Third Series. First published in 1894 under the editorship of Lyon G. Tyler and the sponsorship of the College of William and Mary, it gave special attention to early Virginia history, and that policy was continued in the Second Series, which began in 1920 under the editorship of Earl G. Swem. Beginning with the new series, edited by Richard L. Morton, the magazine will cover a wider range of interest, as is indicated by its sub-title, "A Magazine of Early American History, Institutions, and Culture," and the appointment of a board of editors comprising scholars in all parts of the country whose work in colonial history has gained recognition. It will continue to be published by the College of William and Mary as the organ of the newly established Institute of Early American History and Culture, a co-operative enterprise of the College and the Historical Advisory Committee of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated.

The new format of the journal is attractive and dignified, and the contents of the first number give promise of a distinguished contribution. It is appropriate that the opening article should be a biographical sketch of the late Charles McLean Andrews, together with an appreciative appraisal of his work and a complete bibliography of his writings. There follows an essay by Professor An-

draws, entitled "On the Writing of Colonial History," which he left among his papers with instructions that it was not to be published during his lifetime, and which should now be made required reading for every graduate student in American history. Other articles are "Beverley's History . . . of Virginia (1705), a Neglected Classic," by Louis B. Wright, and "Indian Policy in Early Virginia," by Wesley Frank Craven. A book review section and historical news and notes complete the issue.

A revised edition of *Divided We Stand*, by Walter Prescott Webb, first published by Farrar and Rinehart in 1937, has been issued (Austin: The Acorn Press, 1944, pp. 151, paper cover, \$1.00). The most important change is the addition of a chapter entitled, "The Story of the Texas Milk Bottle," which Professor Webb had written for the original edition but which he was prevented from publishing because of a threat that he and his publishers would be subjected to a lawsuit if the details were printed. Since that time, however, the essential facts have been brought to light through an investigation by the Temporary National Emergency Council, and by drawing on the testimony appearing in the Council's report he is now able to tell the story and to illustrate it with effective photography. The final chapter of the book, entitled, "The Way Out," has also been rewritten in the light of developing political conditions.

As the third number in its Source Book Series, the National Park Service has published *The History of Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas from Contemporary Narratives and Letters* (Washington, 1943, pp. vi, 38), edited by Albert C. Manucy. This publication consists of documents relating to twelve important incidents in the history of the fortifications, beginning with the massacre of the French at Matanzas in 1565 and concluding with the escape of a group of Seminole chiefs from the fort in 1837.

*Cotton in Peace and War* (Nashville, 1944, pp. 52, tables, 50 cents), by John F. Moloney, which has recently been issued as Number 6 of the *Papers of the Institute of Research and Training in the Social Sciences* at Vanderbilt University, is a discriminating analysis of the effect of the war economy upon the South's most important staple crop. Among the major topics considered are the "cotton problems," government control of cotton, the effect of the war on cotton markets and cotton production, and post-war implications.

*An Outline of Mississippi History* (Hattiesburg, 1944, pp. iv, 44), by Richard A. McLemore, is a revision and expansion of a similar outline published in 1941 "to serve as a guide for students of Mississippi history." The material is arranged under twenty broad topics in which economic, social, and cultural interests receive adequate emphasis alongside political activities. The reference lists include most of the periodical literature on the state as well as published monographs and more general books.

*Report of the First Conference of Negro Land-Grant Colleges for Co-ordinating a Program of Co-operative Social Studies* (Atlanta, 1943, pp. 84), edited by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, presents a statement of the proceedings of a conference held at Atlanta University in April, 1943, by representatives from sixteen Negro land-grant colleges and from ten other institutions, both colored and white. This movement is a continuation of the study of the Negro problems begun at Atlanta University in 1896, and in its present form it represents a concerted effort to promote research by Negroes on problems affecting their own race.

*The Burlington Court Book: A Record of Quaker Jurisprudence in West New Jersey, 1680-1709* (Washington: The American Historical Association, 1944, pp. lvi, 372, \$7.50), edited by H. Clay Reed and George J. Miller, constituting Volume V of the *American Legal Records Series*, makes available in printed form an important colonial record which had remained almost inaccessible for more than two centuries. A historical introduction presents the general setting, and a detailed index provides a guide to the social and economic as well as the judicial materials in the record.

*American History in Schools and Colleges* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944, pp. xiv, 148, \$1.25), is the report of a committee of fourteen historians and educators appointed in 1943 under the joint auspices of the American Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the National Council for the Social Studies to investigate the teaching of American history in the schools and colleges of this country. On the basis of a test given to groups representing varying achievements and interests, the committee found that Americans do not know factual history but that they do understand trends and relationships. A chapter is devoted to a statement of why Americans should know their history, and this is followed by chapters which survey and criticize past and present offerings in schools and colleges and beyond the classroom. The findings refute the charge that American history is being neglected, but show that the real difficulty lies in the way it is taught.

The most important part of the report consists of its recommendations, which include: advocacy of the training of teachers in history and more careful selection of history teachers; differentiation of content and emphasis for different stages of instruction; and, at least by implication, a shift from the functional approach to the use of an essential core of information in showing development and continuity. Because of the short time at the disposal of the committee, it was impossible to deal in detail with all questions which might have been considered; and it is probable that a different group of members would have emphasized other aspects of the problem. Whatever differences of opinion there may be about its completeness, however, the report abounds in suggestions that, if followed, would certainly improve the teaching of American history. It should be

read by every school administrator and by every teacher of history from the elementary grades to the graduate school, because its implementation lies with them rather than with this committee.

#### ARTICLES ON THE STATES OF THE UPPER SOUTH

- "A Brief Summary of the Maryland Historical Society's Hundred Years," by Samuel K. Dennis, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (March).
- "The Library Company of Baltimore, 1795-1854," by Stuart C. Sherman, *ibid.*
- "A Discordant Chapter in Lincoln's Administration: The Davis-Blair Controversy," by Reinhard H. Luthin, *ibid.*
- "Bennet Allen, Fighting Parson," concluded, by Josephine Fisher, *ibid.*
- "The Historic Mulberry Tree of Saint Mary's City," by William B. Marye, *ibid.*
- "Washington's Birthday, 1860, Scenes and Events at the Federal Capital," by Phillip G. Auchampaugh, in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (January).
- "General R. E. Lee's Northwest Virginia Campaign," by Charles H. Ambler, in *West Virginia History* (January).
- "Notes on an Old West Virginia Coal Field," by Howard N. Eavenson, *ibid.*
- "Beverley's History . . . of Virginia (1705), a Neglected Classic," by Louis B. Wright, in the *William and Mary Quarterly* (January).
- "Indian Policy in Early Virginia," by Wesley Frank Craven, *ibid.*
- "Loyalism in Alexandria, Virginia," by William Buckner McGroarty, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (January).
- "Charles-Francois Custis, Belgian Historian, Scion of a Virginia Family," by Milton Rubincam, *ibid.*
- "The Formative Years of the North Carolina Board of Health, 1877-1893," by Jane Zimmerman, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (January).
- "John Armfield of Beersheba Springs," by Isabel Howell, in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (March).
- "Fugitive and Agrarian Writers at Vanderbilt," by Richmond Croom Beatty, *ibid.*
- "Jackson and Madison County; An Inland Cotton Center of the Growing West, 1821-1850," by Emma Inman Williams, *ibid.*
- "A Sketch of Josiah Hart (Father of Joel T. Hart)," by S. D. Mitchell, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (January).
- "John J. Crittenden, 1787-1863," by Allen E. Ragan, in the *Filson Club History Quarterly* (January).
- "Political Nominating Convention," by W. C. Barrickman, *ibid.*
- "An Early Project to Establish a Province of Georgia in the Region now Known as Kentucky," by Douglas C. McMurtrie, *ibid.*



- "Organizing the Republican Party in the 'Border-Slave' Regions: Edward Bates's Presidential Candidacy in 1860," by Reinhard H. Luthin, in the *Missouri Historical Review* (January).
- "Doctor John J. Lowry: A Frontier Physician," by Charles F. Mullett, *ibid.*
- "Missouri at West Point: Her Graduates through the Civil War Years," by George T. Ness, Jr., *ibid.*
- "Education in the Cherokee Nation," by Abraham E. Knepler, in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (December).
- "The Home for the Insane, Deaf, Dumb and Blind of the Cherokee Nation," by Carl T. Steen, *ibid.*
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- "On the Writing of Colonial History," by Charles McLean Andrews, in the *William and Mary Quarterly* (January).
- "The Jeffersonian Tradition of Liberalism in America," by Clement Eaton, in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* (January).
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